

University of Groningen

Politicisation, polarisation and public participation

Tsubohara, Shinji

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:

2003

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Tsubohara, S. (2003). *Politicisation, polarisation and public participation: planning history of Groningen, the Netherlands, in 1970's (2)*. s.n.

Copyright

Other than for strictly personal use, it is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

The publication may also be distributed here under the terms of Article 25fa of the Dutch Copyright Act, indicated by the "Taverne" license. More information can be found on the University of Groningen website: <https://www.rug.nl/library/open-access/self-archiving-pure/taverne-amendment>.

Take-down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Downloaded from the University of Groningen/UMCG research database (Pure): <http://www.rug.nl/research/portal>. For technical reasons the number of authors shown on this cover page is limited to 10 maximum.

Politicisation, Polarisation and Public Participation

Planning History of Groningen, the Netherlands, in 1970's②

Shinji Tsubohara

Research paper 303

Urban and Regional Studies Institute

University of Groningen

PO Box 800

9700 AV Groningen

The Netherlands

June 2003

Abstract

In the city of Groningen, the Netherlands, besides the Traffic Circulation Plan (*Verkeerscirculatieplan*, VCP), another epoch-making plan was introduced in the 1970's. It was the Broad Local Land Use Plan for the inner city, which was approved by the municipal council in 1978. It was one of the first local land use plans in the Netherlands that covered the whole inner city. It also adopted contemporary themes, like the strengthening of the encounter function of the inner city, and secured them legally. In this respect, it was, like the VCP, epoch-making by the standard of today as well as in those days. On the other hand, also concerning its planning process, almost the same characteristics were identified as in the case of the VCP. The planning documents published were all very difficult for the public to understand, and, consequently, most of the public did not participate in the planning at all. The few conflicts that emerged between neighbourhood organisations and institutions were solved through polarisation. The new left politicians again took the initiative in the planning.

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. Introduction | 1 |
| 2. Review of Plans | 4 |
| 2.1 The Urban Design Plan | 4 |
| 2.1.1 Use Concept | 4 |
| 2.1.2 Spatial Concept | 7 |
| 2.2 The Broad Local Land Use Plan | 12 |
| 2.2.1 Use Concept | 12 |
| 2.2.2 Spatial Concept | 15 |
| 3. Planning Process | 16 |
| 3.1 The Interim Report and Development Sketches (-December 1975) | 16 |
| 3.1.1 The Interim Report | 16 |
| 3.1.2 Development Sketches | 19 |
| 3.2 Decision on the Urban Design Plan (-May 1976) | 21 |
| 3.2.1 Little Interest | 21 |
| 3.2.2 AZ (Binnenstad-Oost) | 22 |
| 3.2.3 RUG (Hortusbuurt) | 24 |
| 3.2.4 Davidstraatbuurt | 26 |
| 3.2.5 Decision on the SBP and NW | 27 |
| 3.3 Decision on the Broad Local Land Use Plan (-February 1978) | 27 |
| 3.3.1 Public Inspection | 27 |
| 3.3.2 Decision on the GBP | 30 |
| 3.3.3 Unresolved Conflict | 31 |
| 4. Conclusion | 33 |
| Notes | 35 |

List of abbreviation

AZ: *Academisch Ziekenhuis* (Academic Hospital)

B&W: *college van burgemeester en wethouders* (municipal executive board)

CDA: *Christen Democratisch Appel* (Christian Democratic Party)

D'66: *Democraten '66* (Democrats '66; Social Liberal Party)

GBP: *Globaal Bestemmingsplan Binnenstad Groningen 1976* (Broad Local Land Use Plan for the inner city of Groningen)

GSD: *Gemeentelijke Sociale Dienst* (City Department of Social Service)

KNOV: *Koninklijk Nederlands Ondernemers Verbond* (Royal Dutch Entrepreneur Association)

NW: *Nota van Wijzigingen* (Document of Modifications)

OS: *Ontwikkelingsschetsen* (Development Sketches)

PPR: *Politieke Partij Radicalen* ('Green' Party)

PTT: *Posten, Telegrafie en Telefonie* (Postal Services)

PvdA: *Partij van de Arbeid* (Labour Party)

RUG: *Rijksuniversiteit Groningen* (University of Groningen)

SBP: *Stedebouwkundig Plan* (Urban Design Plan)

VCP: *Verkeerscirculatieplan* (Traffic Circulation Plan)

VVD: *Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie* (Conservative Party)

List of Tables

Table 1. Possible and desirable development of use

Table 2. Measures for "places"

Table 3. Percentage per function

List of Figures

Figure 1. Planning area

Figure 2. Procedure of local land use plan

Figure 3. Land use plan of the SBP

Figure 4. Zoning of the planning area

Figure 5. Space forming walls

Figure 6. Spatial main system

Figure 7. Green structure

Figure 8. Land use plan of the GBP

Figure 9. Building map

Figure 10. Text of the Interim Report

Figure 11. Map of the Interim Report

Figure 12. Quantification of *herbergzaamheid*

Figure 13. Image of city

Figure 14. Plan map of the OS

Figure 15. AZ in the SBP

Figure 16. AZ in the NW

Figure 17. RUG in the SBP

Figure 18. RUG in the NW

Figure 19. Davidstraatbuurt in the NW

1. Introduction

In the city of Groningen, the Netherlands, besides the Traffic Circulation Plan (*Verkeerscirculatieplan*, VCP), another epoch-making plan was introduced in the 1970's. It was , as the VCP, epoch-making even by the standard of the present time as well as in those days. That is the Broad Local Land Use Plan for the inner city of Groningen (*Gloaal Bestemmingsplan Binnenstad Groningen 1976*, GBP).

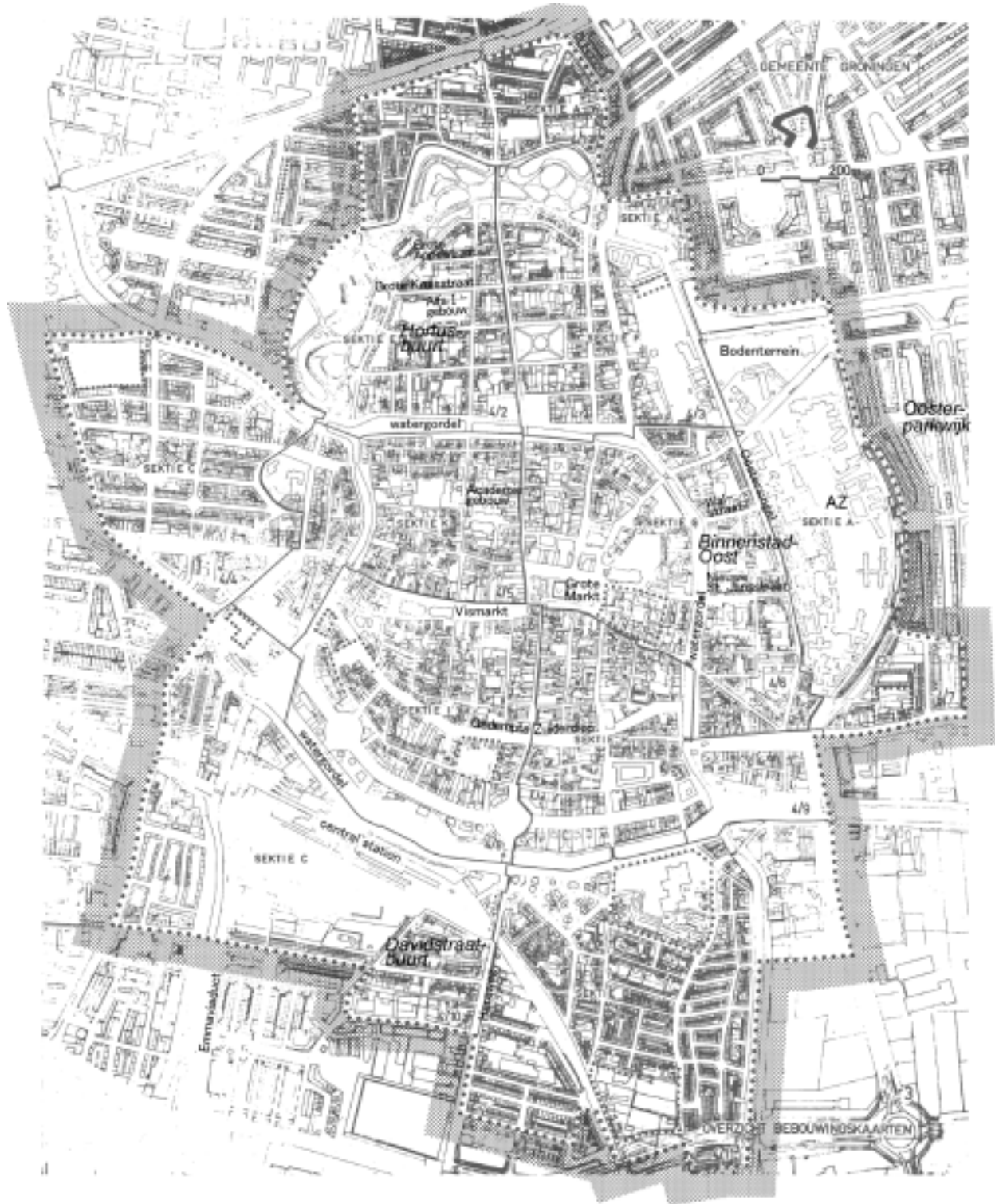


Figure 1. Planning area

The local land use plan is based on the Spatial Planning Act, which was enforced in 1965, and the only plan referred to in the Act that is directly binding on citizens¹. It is used, for example, as criterion upon which municipalities decide whether or not to issue building permits. Although it is obligatory for municipalities to make the local land use plan for the area outside the built-up area, the GBP was for the built-up inner city and covered the whole inner-city, including surrounding neighbourhoods (Figure 1). In this respect, the GBP was one of the first examples in the Netherlands.

The broad local land use plan is a type of local land use plan, which is stipulated in article 11, paragraph 1 of the Spatial Planning Act. It defines land use only broadly, and, when a development is in fact carried out, an elaboration plan (*uitwerkingsplan*) is drawn up for the area to control the development more precisely. The elaboration plan has the same legal status as the local land use plan. Concerning usual (less influential) building activities, the propriety of the building permits is judged based on the broad plan, without waiting for the elaboration plan. The Objectives Document, which was approved as a planning principle by the municipal council in December 1972², already oriented towards the broad local land use plan for the inner city, saying:

The plan must have an open characteristic and must not fix more than strictly necessary. (...) The necessary open character points in a direction of the broad local land use plan with the authority to elaborate by mayor and wethouders after consultation with those interested.

For the current urban planning in developed countries, themes like the revival of the inner city, resettlement of population there or mixed-uses are central purposes, with increasing concerns over environmental problems or the dramatic slowing down of the population growth. The GBP, although the expression was different, regarded these contemporary themes as basic objectives, and secured them legally. Considering the fact that this plan had been applied to the inner city of Groningen for about 20 years, until it was revised in 1995, it must have contributed to the current bustle or the well-conserved historical structure there in no small way.

The GBP has not been researched almost at all in terms of the content as well as the planning process. Only Hajema (2001)³ describes the planning process based on the planning documents published by the municipality. This paper will analyse the content of the plan and its planning process, and try to make clear its contemporary meaning and the social factors that had realised this plan. The perspectives for analysing the planning process are the same as in the research about the VCP. That is politicisation, polarisation and public participation, all of which were political creeds of the new left politicians. They again took the initiative in planning the GBP.

The legal procedure to decide the local land use plan is, very roughly, described in Figure 2. The *Gedeputeerde Staten* in the figure is the equivalent organisation at the provincial level to the B&W⁴. This paper will follow the planning process up to the approval by the municipal council in this procedure.

The method of research was to analyse the planning documents published by the municipality, and the local newspapers. As the local newspaper, only Nieuwsblad van het Noorden circulated in those days, and there was also a free local paper, De Groninger Gezinsbode, which was delivered a few times per week. The author checked the former from 1974 to 1979, when the GBP was approved by the *Gedeputeerde Staten*, and the latter in May-June 1976 during which the Urban Design Plan was approved by the municipal council, and in January-February 1978 during which the GBP was approved by the municipal council. The Urban Design Plan (*Stedebouwkundig Plan*, SBP) was made as a "basis" for the GBP. The GBP is a legal translation of the SBP. In addition,

the author investigated the minutes of the municipal council meeting on February 6th, 1978, when the GBP was approved, and the proposal by the B&W to this council meeting, including its answers to objections.

The next section 2 will at first (subsection 2.1) introduce the content of the SBP, which was published in December 1975. Then subsection 2.2 will examine the regulations of the GBP, checking how the SBP was translated into the law. Section 3 will describe the planning process, including some other planning documents published in the meantime. The planning process is roughly divided into three periods, that is first until the SBP was published (subsection 3.1), second until the municipal council approved the SBP (subsection 3.2), and third until the municipal council approved the GBP (subsection 3.3).

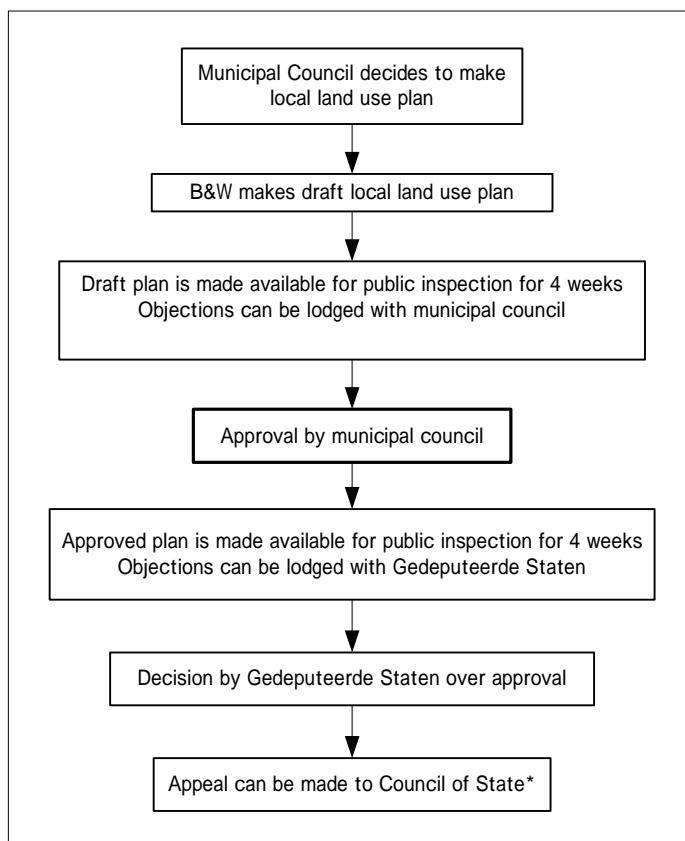


Figure 2. Procedure of local land use plan

* In the 1970's, this was the Crown.

2. Review of Plans

2.1 The Urban Design Plan

The Objectives Document listed the following objectives for the "inner city plan":

- such a design of the city centre that conditions (i.e. environment) are created, under which a free encounter with and a passive as well as an active involvement in the urban activities can develop
- in such a way that residents of the city and the region can experience this individually and as a group as the high point of urban life

The SBP interprets these as "the strengthening of the encounter function"⁵ of the inner city, and adopts it as a central theme for the plan. It introduces three concepts to describe orderly its content, that is "use concept", "spatial concept" and "traffic concept", and lists for each of them the quality that should be maintained and strengthened, in terms of contributing to the encounter function. It is "colourfulness and interweaving of functions"⁶ for the use concept, "*herbergzaamheid* and perception value of the public space"⁷ for the spatial concept and "accessibility and mobility"⁸ for the traffic concept. The plan also explains, as characteristics that pervade the whole plan, that it puts emphasis on keeping and protecting the existing structure, or that it strengthens the residential function in the inner city, even if at the sacrifice of the new developments in the surrounding area. Successively, it describes measures precisely for each concept. The following will introduce measures for the use concept and spatial concept, which were reflected in the GBP.

2.1.1 Use Concept

Figure 3 ("*2 Gebruiksconcept*") is the land use plan for the whole planning area. This map shows literally the "colourfulness and interweaving of functions". The residential function ("*wonen*") can be seen within the *watergordel* (i.e. canal surrounding the inner city) widely as well as in the outskirts area. Although "*centrum*", whose emphasis is on retail, catering, social cultural facilities and service, is designated in the city centre, even here the SBP demands strengthening the residential function on the upper floors, if there are favourable conditions for it. In case of the expansion of the *centrum* function, according to the plan, it has to be realised through intensifying the current land use rather than through spatial expansion.

In addition to this basic policy, the SBP divides the planning area into small zones (Figure 4), and lists "possible and desirable development of use" for each zone (Table 1). The method of zoning is at first to divide the planning area into the "inner city" within the *watergordel* and the "outskirts areas". The inner city is then divided into the "city centre", which almost corresponds to the central shopping area and central business district, and the remaining "inner city areas". The inner city areas and outskirts areas are each divided into four areas (B1-4, R1-4), and finally, including the city centre, these areas are divided into small zones, each of which is allocated a code number. The SBP shows for each of these zones whether it will (greatly) increase or decrease or stabilise a function with 8 categories, ranging from housing to service. The residential function gets the markings "++", "+" or "+v" (i.e. increase on the upper floors) in many zones, while (-) for the residential function is attached in only one zone, which was finally scrapped as explained later.

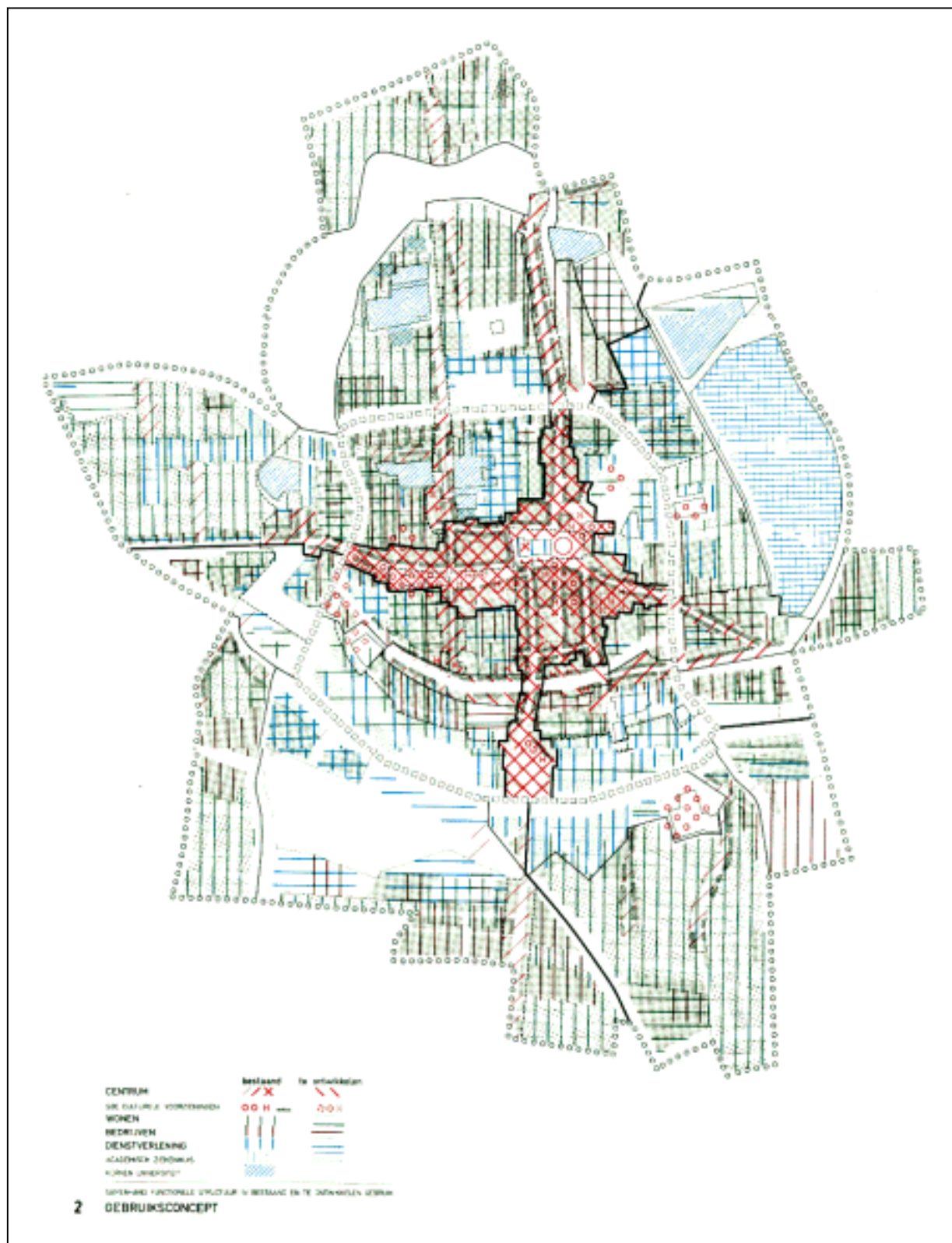


Figure 3. Land use plan of the SBP

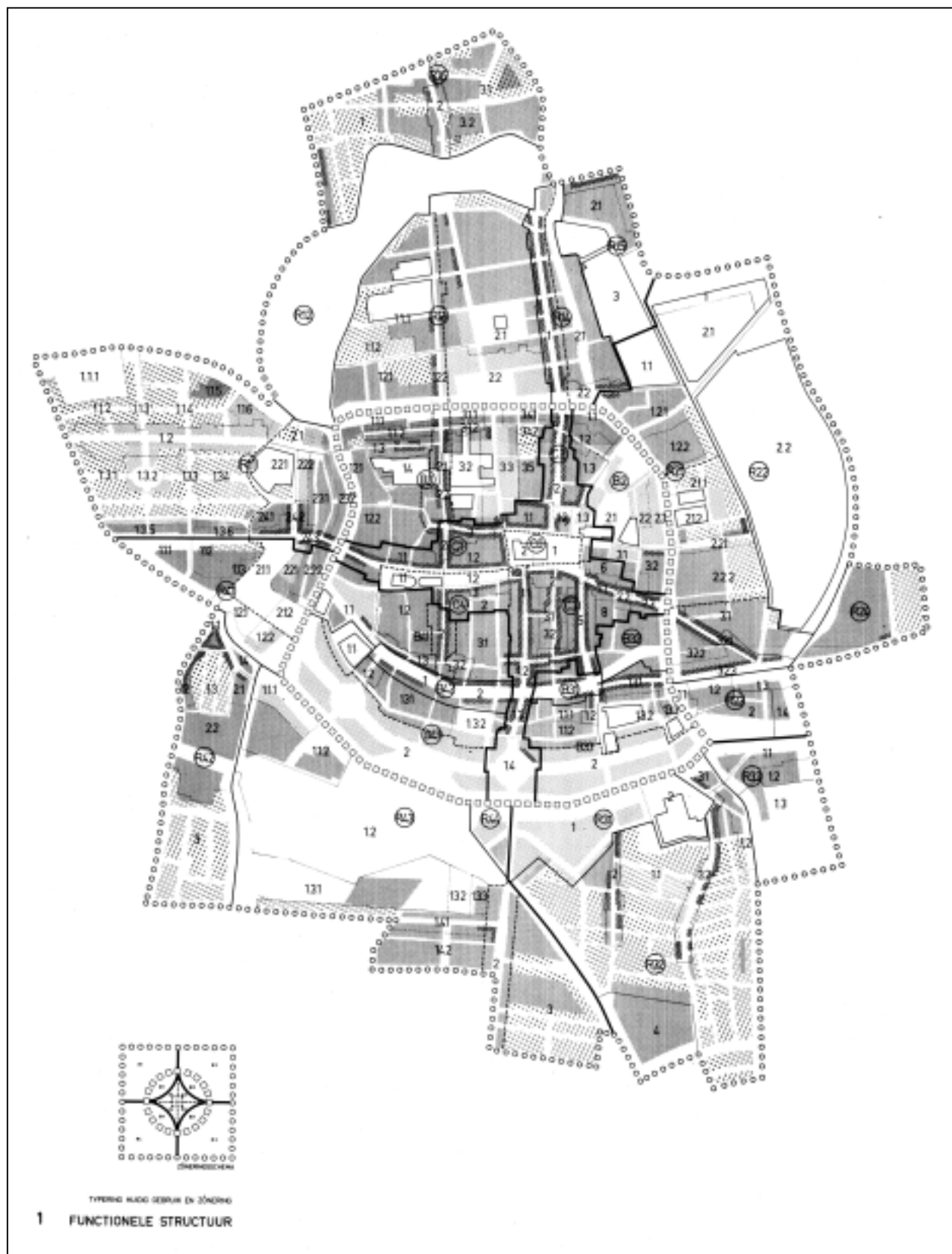


Figure 4. Zoning of the planning area

| zone | mon | onderwijs | detailhandel | horeca | roc. cult. | bedrijven | groothandel | dienstverl. | toelichting |
|------------------|-----|-----------|--------------|--------|------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| binnenstad (B.2) | | | | | | | | | |
| B.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.1 | + | | | + | | (=) | (=) | + | |
| 1.2 | + | | | | | | | - | |
| 1.3 | | | | | | | | | |
| B.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2.1 | ++ | + | | (+) | | + | - | - | |
| 2.2 | ++ | - | (+) | | | (+) | (+) | + | |
| 2.3 | | | | | | | | | |
| B.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 3.1 | | | + | | + | | | - | |
| 3.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| randgebied (R.2) | | | | | | | | | |
| R.2.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.1 | | | | | | (=) | (=) | + | |
| 1.2.1 | | | | | | + | | + | |
| 1.2.2 | ++ | | (+) | + | + | + | | + | ' parkeergarage/project Turfsingel |
| R.2.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2.1.1 | | | | | | | | + | |
| 2.1.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2.2.1 | - | | + | + | | | | + | |
| 2.2.2 | + | | | | | - | - | | |
| R.2.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 3.1 | ++ | | | | | | | -' | ' gem. reinigingsbedrijf |
| 3.2.1 | | | (+) | | | | | | ' zold-oostelijk deel Nieuwe Weg |
| 3.2.2 | + | | | | | - | - | + | |
| 3.2.3 | | | | | | | | + | |
| R.2.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | ++ | | | | | | | | zie 6.5.4 |
| R.2.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2.1 | | ++ | | | | | | | zie 6.5.4 |
| 2.2 | | | | | | | | | zie 6.4 |
| R.2.3 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.1 | + | | | | | (-) | | + | |
| 1.2 | | | | | | | | + | |
| 1.3 | | | | | | | | + | |
| 1.4 | | | | | | + | | + | ' parkeergarage |
| R.2.3 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | ++ | | (+) | (+) | | | | (=) | |

Table 1. Possible and desirable development of use
(a part of the original table)

2.1.2 Spatial Concept

The SBP describes measures in terms of the spatial concept or urban design in three plan maps⁹. Figure 5 ("*3 Behoud en Ontwikkeling Ruimtevormende Structuur*") shows the evaluation or judgement by the project group inner city, which was responsible for the planning, about the "space forming walls"¹⁰. The group assumed that the *herbergzaamheid* or the effect of space forming of streets was influenced by the "width of buildings"¹¹, "spatial differentiation"¹², "spatial closure"¹³, the difference of the height of buildings, the variety of the form of roofs and so on. It evaluated each street wall in terms of these characteristics and selected important street walls. The selected street walls were categorised into three policy levels based on the extent of their *herbergzaamheid*. The group proposed, for example, a policy of "keeping the structure; the modest replacement per building is possible" for the most important wall, which is shown with thick lines in Figure 5. These most important street walls include a lot of monuments, but it is a result of the above way of evaluation. What is important here is the value in terms of not architecture, but urban design. This plan map also shows with wavy lines street walls for which "the reconstruction is desired, if not necessary", in terms of *herbergzaamheid*. The conservative principle of the SBP can be seen in the fact that most of street walls are at least designated as "neutral (although not urgently necessary, replacement is conceivable, including structurally)" and that the wavy lines for limited walls do not necessitate reconstruction.

HOOFDENTEN
WAARDIGE STRAATWIDEN
VRIJDE HAARDEGEMIDEN EN ZICHTLIJKE TOEGANG

3 BEHOUD EN ONTWIKKELING RUIMTEVORMENDE STRUCTUUR

8

While this plan map deals with the static cityscape, Figure 6 ("*4A Ruimtelijk Hoofdsysteem Coding*") deals with the mobile cityscape, particularly the perspective of pedestrians. Considering, "just the alternation of small and broad, from limited to wider possibilities of perspective and movement strongly contributes to the perception value and orientation in the inner city", the project group chose "the most important movement lines (routes)"¹⁵ and "their particularly spatial accents (places)"¹⁶. These include newly developed routes and places, and the former are located to facilitate the circulation of pedestrians. The SBP insists that the each municipal or private initiative should be judged based on this "main system"¹⁷, and, particularly for each place, allocates a code number and lists measures in order to make the place a substantial accent (Table 2).

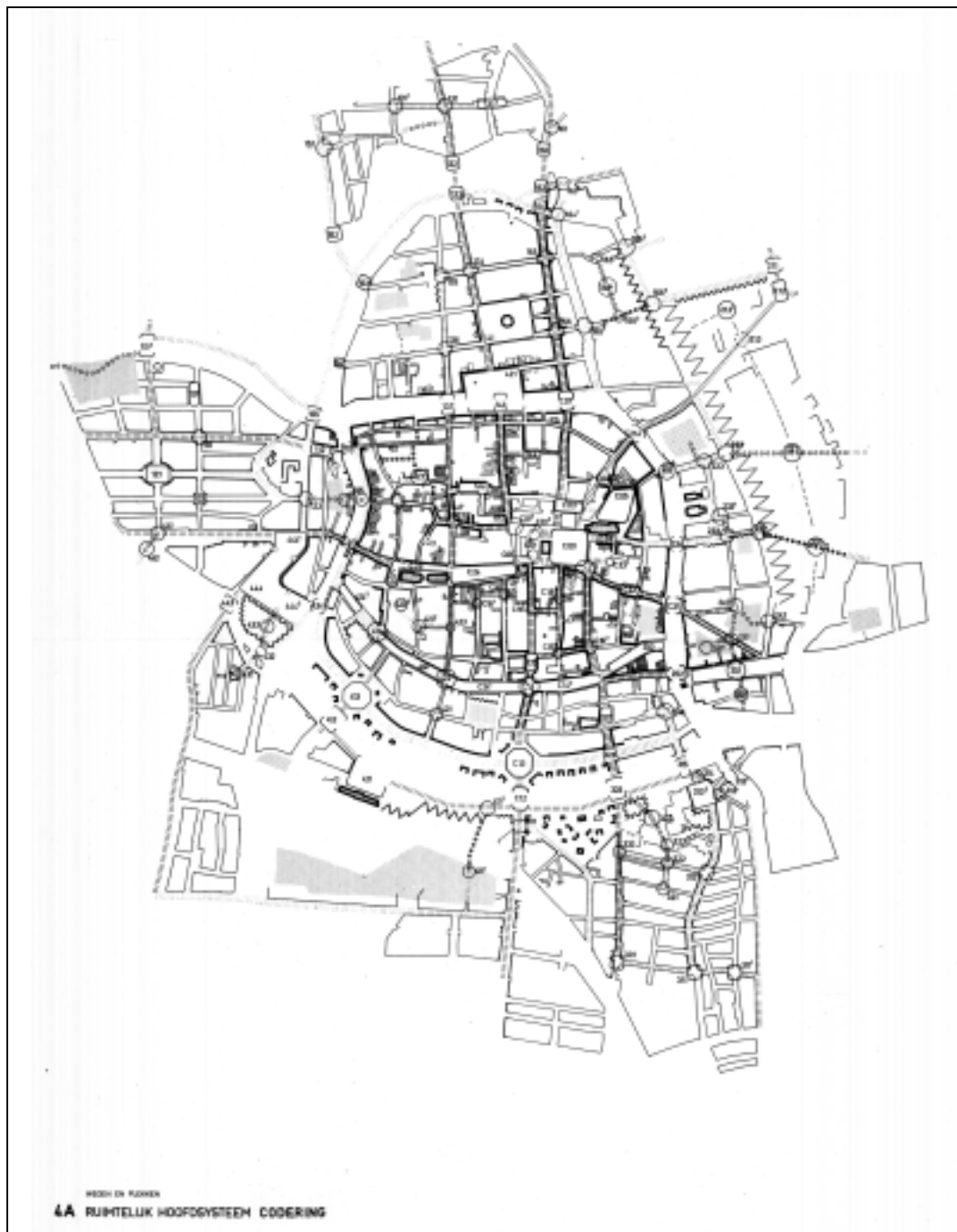


Figure 6. Spatial main system

| ONTWIKKELINGSVOORESTELLEN RUIMTELIJK HOOFDSYSTEEM (kaart 4A) | zone en code | voorgestelde maatregelen | zone en code | voorgestelde maatregelen | zone en code | voorgestelde maatregelen | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | |
| centrum | | | | | | | | 3.2 | | | | | | | | 4.2 | | | | | | | | |
| 0.0 | o | o | o | o | | o | o | 3.3 | | | o | | | | | 5.1 | | | o | | o | o | o | |
| 0.1 | o | o | o | o | | o | o | 3.4 | | | | | | | | 5.1 I | | | o | | | | | |
| 0.1 I | o | o | o | o | | o | o | 3.5 | | | o | | | | | 5.2 | | | | | | | | |
| 0.1 S | o | o | o | o | | o | o | 3.6 | | | o | | | | | 5.3 | | | o | | | | | |
| 0.1 J | | | | | | | | 3.7 | | | | | | | o | | | | | | | | | |
| 0.2 | o | | | o | | o | o | 3.8 | | o | | | | | | B.3/R.3 | | | | | | | | |
| 0.3 | | o | o | o | | o | o | 4.1 | | o | | | | | | 1.1 | | | | | | | | |
| 0.4 | | | o | o | | o | o | 4.2 | | | o | | | | | 1.1 I | | | | | | | | |
| 0.5 | | o | o | o | | o | o | 4.3 | | | | | | | o | 1.2 | | | | o | | | | |
| 0.6 | | | o | | | o | o | 4.4 | | | o | | | o | o | 1.3 | | | | o | | | | |
| 0.7 | | | | o | | | | 4.5 | | o | | | | | | 1.3 I | | | | | | | | |
| 1.1 | | | | o | | | | 5.1 | | | | o | | | | 1.3 S | | | o | | o | | | |
| 1.2 | | | | o | | | o | 5.2 | | | | | | | | 1.4 | | | | o | | | | |
| 1.3 | | | | | | o | o | 5.3 | | | | | | | | 1.5 | | | | | | | | |
| 1.4 | | o | o | o | | o | o | 5.4 | | | | | | | | 1.6 | | | o | | o | | | |
| 1.4 I | o | o | o | o | | o | o | 5.5 | | | o | | | | | 2.1 | | | | o | o | o | o | |
| 1.4 S | o | o | o | | | o | o | 6.1 | | | | | | | o | 2.2 | | | | | o | o | o | |
| 1.5 | | | | | | | | 6.2 | | | | | | | | 2.3 | | | o | | | | | |
| 1.5 I | | | | o | | o | o | 6.3 | | | o | | | | | 2.4 | | o | o | o | | | | |
| 1.5 S | | | | o | | o | o | 6.3 I | | | | o | | | | 2.5 | | | | | | | | o |
| 1.6 | | | o | o | | | | 6.4 | | | o | | | | | 2.6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1.6 I | | | o | o | | o | o | 6.4 I | | | o | o | | | | 2.7 | | | o | o | | | | |
| 1.6 S | | | o | o | | o | o | 6.5 | | | o | o | | | | 3.1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1.6 J | | | o | | | o | o | 6.5 I | | o | o | | o | | | 3.2 | | | o | | | | | |
| 2.1 | | | | | | o | o | 6.5 S | | | o | o | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2.2 | | | | | | o | o | 6.6 | | | | o | | | | B.4/R.4 | | | | | | | | |
| 2.3 | o | | o | | | o | o | 6.6 I | | | o | o | | | | 1.1 | | o | o | | | | | |
| 2.4 | o | o | o | o | | o | o | 6.6 S | | o | | o | | o | | 1.1 I | | o | o | | o | | | |
| 3.1 | | | | | | o | o | 6.6 J | | | o | o | | | | 1.1 S | | o | o | o | | | | |
| 3.2 | o | o | o | | | o | o | 6.6 I | | o | o | | o | | | 1.2 | | | | o | | | | o |
| 3.3 | | o | | o | | o | o | | | | | | | | | 1.3 | | | | | | | | |
| 3.3 I | | | | | | | | B.2/R.2 | | | | | | | | 1.4 | | | o | | o | o | o | |
| | | | | | | | | 1.1 | | | | | | | | 1.4 I | | | o | | | | | |
| B.1/R.1 | | | | | | | | 1.2 | | | | | | | | 1.4 S | | o | o | | | o | o | |
| 1.1 | | | | o | | | | 1.3 | | | o | o | o | | | 2.1 | | | | o | | | | |
| 1.1 I | | | | | | | | 1.3 I | | | | o | | | | 2.2 | | | o | o | | o | o | |
| 1.1 S | | | | | | | | 1.4 | | | o | o | | | | 2.3 | | | | o | o | o | o | |
| 1.2 | | | | o | | | o | 2.1 | | | | o | | | | 2.3 I | | | o | o | | o | o | |
| 1.3 | | | | o | | | o | 2.2 | | | o | o | o | | | 2.3 S | | o | o | | o | | o | |
| 2.1 | | | | | | | | 2.3 | | | | o | | | | 3.1 | | o | | o | | | | |
| 2.2 | | | | o | | | | 2.4 | | | | o | | | | 3.2 | | | | | | | | |
| 2.3 | | | o | o | | | | 3.1 | | | | o | | | | 3.3 | | o | o | o | | | | |
| 2.4 | | | o | | o | | | 3.2 | | | o | o | | | | 3.4 | | o | o | | | | o | |
| 2.5 | | | | o | | | | 3.3 | | | o | o | o | o | o | 4.1 | | | | | | | | |
| 2.6 | | o | o | | o | o | o | 3.3 I | | | o | | | | | 4.2 | | | | | | | | |
| 2.7 | | o | | | o | | | 3.4 | | | | | | | | 4.3 | | | | o | | | o | |
| 3.1 | | | | o | | | | 4.1 | | | o | o | | | | 4.4 | | o | | o | o | | o | |
| 3.1 I | | | | o | | | | 4.1 I | | o | o | | o | | | 4.4 I | | | | o | | o | o | |
| 3.1 S | | o | | | | | | 4.1 S | | o | o | | o | | | 4.4 S | | o | o | o | o | o | o | |

toelichting (algemeen)

In bovenstaand overzicht wordt (de aard van) een aantal maatregelen aangegeven, waarmee --bij concrete uitvoeringsplannen-- de ruimten verbeterd zouden kunnen worden. Met het overzicht wordt niet beoogd voor de uitwerkingsplannen gedetailleerde richtlijnen te geven. De opgesomde maatregelen dienen te worden beschouwd als randvoorwaarden, die gegeven worden vanuit de totale samenhang van de ruimtelijke structuur.

toelichting (symbolen kaart 4A)

||||| op het stadscentrum betrokken routen

||||| routen met betekenis binnen een deelgebied of tussen deelgebieden

□ □ bestaande plekken (pleinen)

○ te ontwikkelen of te vormen plekken (pleinen)

toelichting (maatregelen)

- 1 = verandering, respectievelijk versterking van het gebruik van de randen; het gaat hierbij om een versterking van het gebruik van de ruimte in samenhang met de activiteiten in de randvormende bebouwing (bijvoorbeeld kraampjes langs een winkelroute, terrasjes enzovoorts);
- 2 = uitbreiding van het gebruik van de ruimte (bijvoorbeeld spelelementen, zitmogelijkheden, kiosken, fietsenstallingen enzovoorts);
- 3 = versterking of aanbrengen van groenvoorzieningen;
- 4 = ruimtelijke correctie door verbetering van de secundaire structuur (bijvoorbeeld luifels, aanplak- of reclamegullies, verlichtingselementen, zitbanken, tijdelijke bouwsels enzovoorts);
- 5 = ruimtelijke correctie door verbetering van de primaire structuur (bijvoorbeeld vernieuwing van de bebouwing, verandering rooilijn, verandering boomhoogten enzovoorts);
- 6 = wijziging van het verkeersgebruik;
- 7 = wijziging van de voor het verkeersgebruik aanwezige oppervlakten en
- 8 = versterking van de oriëntatiemogelijkheid (verbetering herkenbaarheid m.b.t. bewegingen --ook in relatie met verandering bereikbaarheid--, bewegwijzering enzovoorts).

Table 2. Measures for "places"

The third map of the spatial concept, Figure 7 ("*5 Groenstructuur*"), is a plan for green belts. Again considering the contribution to orientation, the SBP tries to create a "green structure" covering the whole planning area. This green structure consists of two circular green belts, that is the outer ring along the former rampart and the inner ring of the watergordel, and the SBP proposes newly developed green spaces to complete this structure.

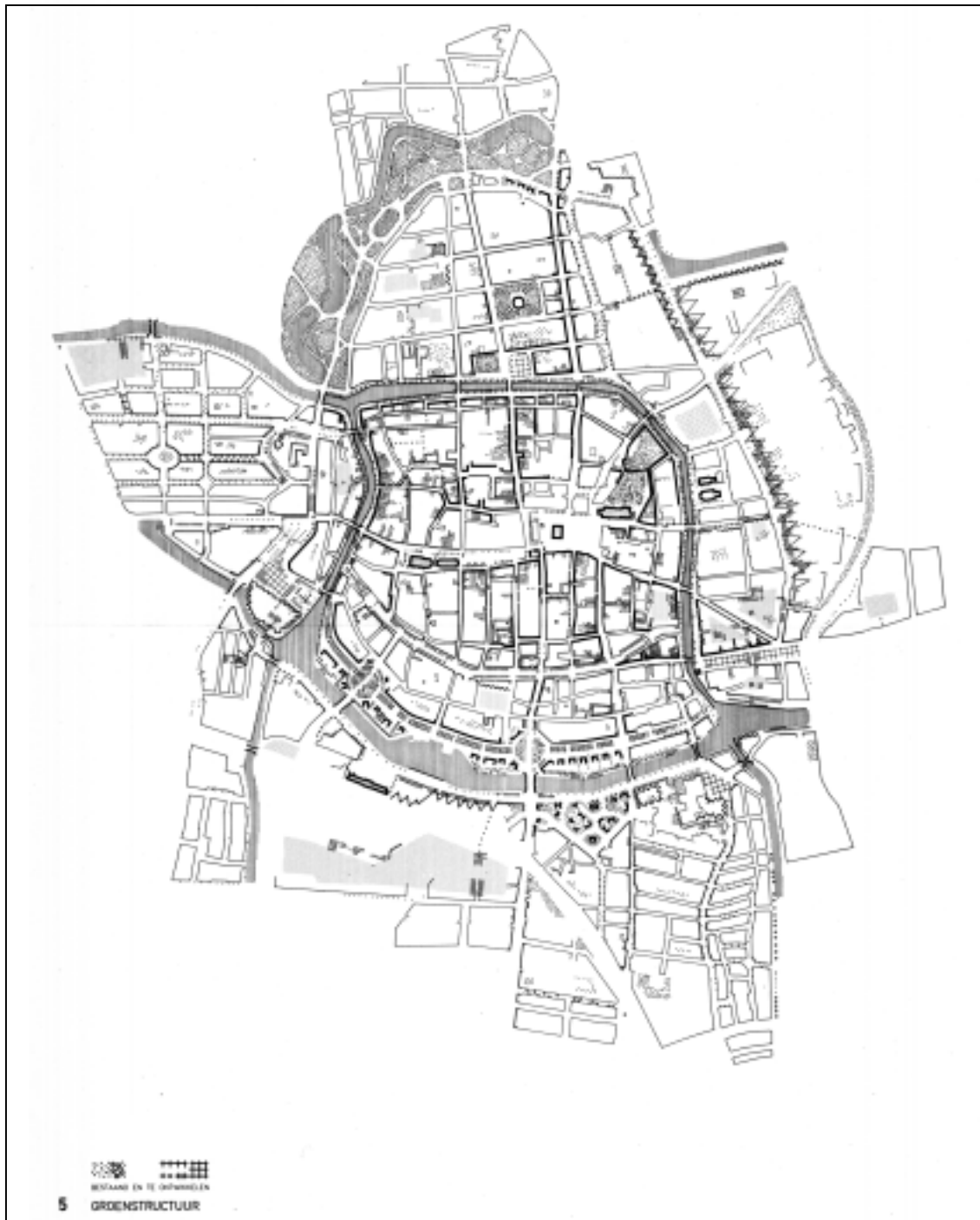


Figure 7. Green structure

The SBP explains successively the traffic concept, and the concept basically sticks to the VCP, which was approved by the municipal council just before.

In the last chapter, the SBP describes more precise policy for some facilities or areas that need special attention, like the Academic Hospital (AZ), the University of Groningen (RUG) or the surrounding area of the central station. This will be explained in the next section.

While the SBP does not mention the themes that the modernist planning has embraced, such as health, sanitation, safety or efficiency, it advocates the purely social theme of strengthening the encounter function. In order to achieve this objective, the SBP planned and designed the urban space precisely as well as broadly.

The Document of Modifications (*Nota van Wijzigingen*, NW), which proposed only partly modifying the SBP, was published in March 1976, and the SBP, including the modification by the NW, was approved by the municipal council on May 25th, 1976. The responsible *wethouder* Max van den Berg called this day "the most important day in my political carrier"¹⁸, and said, "we show with the Urban Design Plan in detail the direction along which the developments must take place"¹⁹. The municipal council approved the GBP, which translated this SBP into legal measures, on February 6th, 1978, and the *Gedeputeerde Staten* on April 24th, 1979.

2.2 The Broad Local Land Use Plan

Because the GBP is the broad local land use plan, it includes rules concerning elaboration (article 24-34), based on the Spatial Planning Act. Among them, article 30 (general regulation) stipulates that the basic objectives, which originate from the Objectives Document and are succeeded by the SBP, have to be the starting point in elaborating:

In elaborating, the mayor and *wethouders* have to start by keeping and strengthening both the spatial structure and characteristics of the inner city and the encounter function of the city centre.

The following will concretely show how the SBP was reflected in the GBP, at first about the use concept and then about the spatial concept, based on the composition of the SBP.

2.2.1 Use Concept

The GBP includes Figure 8 ("*2 Bestemmingenkaart*") as a land use plan. The mixed-uses, such as retail, business plus housing, are allocated separate legends. This map also shows zones and their code numbers that are almost the same as in the SBP, and Table 3 ("Appendix A") quantifies a land use policy for each zone. The lower number in each frame means the maximum proportion of each function (i.e. housing, education, retail, service and so on) for the ground floor measured

| zone | minimum en/of maximum percentage per functiecategorie | | | | | | | | opmerkingen | zone | minimum en/of maximum percentage per functiecategorie | | | | | | | | opmerkingen |
|-------------|---|-----------|--------------|--------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|---|----|----|---|----|-----|----|-----|-------------|
| | wonen | onderwijs | detailhandel | horeca | soc. cult. voerz. | bedrijven | groothandel | diensverlening | | | | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.1.1.2 | 26 | | | | | | | | | R.1.1.1.1.4 | 82 | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.1.1.3 | 50 | 11 | 6 | 5 | 10 | 13 | 18 | 20 | | R.1.1.1.1.5 | 90 | 5 | 5 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | |
| W.4.1.2 | 40 | | 16 | 15 | 10 | 15 | 15 | 20 | | R.1.1.1.1.6 | 60 | | | | 20 | 100 | | 20 | |
| W.4.1.3 | 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.1.3.1 | 20 | 5 | 45 | 25 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 15 | | | | | | | | | | 100 | |
| W.4.1.3.2 | 22 | | | | | | | | | R.1.1.1.2 | 42 | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.1.3.3 | 30 | 19 | 2 | 10 | 15 | 25 | 20 | 25 | | R.1.1.1.3.1 | 50 | 19 | 10 | 5 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 30 | |
| W.4.1.3.4 | 37 | | | | | | | | | R.1.1.1.3.2 | 84 | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.2.1 | 45 | | 5 | 45 | | | 16 | 10 | | R.1.1.1.3.3 | 95 | 5 | 7 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | |
| W.4.2.2 | 5 | | | | | | | | | R.1.1.1.3.4 | 44 | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.3.1.2 | 10 | | 70 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 5 | 20 | | R.1.1.1.3.5 | 60 | 3 | | | 7 | | | 47 | |
| W.4.3.1.3 | 4 | | | | | | | | | R.1.1.1.3.6 | 51 | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.3.1.4 | 10 | | 70 | 20 | 10 | 5 | 7 | 25 | | | 70 | 5 | 30 | | 5 | 8 | 7 | 10 | |
| W.4.3.1.5 | 44 | | | | | | | | | R.1.1.2.1 | 82 | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.3.1.6 | 60 | | 10 | | 5 | 10 | 5 | 35 | | R.1.1.2.2.1 | 90 | | 5 | 2 | | 6 | 1 | 6 | |
| W.4.3.1.7 | 35 | | | | | | | | | R.1.1.2.3.1 | 17 | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.3.1.8 | 60 | | 12 | 5 | | 13 | 10 | 30 | | R.1.1.2.3.2 | 60 | 30 | | | | 13 | 40 | 30 | |
| W.4.3.1.9 | 31 | | | | | | | | | | 32 | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.3.2 | 70 | | 15 | | | 5 | 16 | 25 | | | 60 | 15 | | 5 | | 13 | 15 | 40 | |
| W.4.3.3 | 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.3.4 | 50 | 1 | | | 5 | | 5 | 60 | | | 43 | | | | | | | | |
| W.4.3.5 | 50 | | | | | | | | | | 50 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 50 | |
| W.4.3.6 | 50 | 3 | | | | | | 97 | | | 11 | | | | | | | | |
| W.1.1.1.1.2 | 85 | | | | | | | | | | 25 | 80 | | | 10 | | | 10 | |
| W.1.1.1.1.3 | 90 | | 6 | | | 3 | 2 | 5 | | | 19 | | | | | | | | |
| W.1.1.1.1.4 | 58 | | | | | | | | | | | 15 | 10 | 1 | | 20 | 17 | 20 | |
| W.1.1.1.1.5 | 70 | | 15 | | | 5 | 5 | 15 | | | 24 | | 10 | 5 | | 35 | 32 | 5 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | 40 | | | | | | | | |

Table 3. Percentage per function (a part of the original table)

by the width of building facade, except for the case in which it is noted as measurement by the building area. As this table shows, the GBP allows plural functions in each zone. It indeed does not allow housing on the ground floor in most of "C"(city centre) zones. However, there is a stipulation to facilitate the residential use on upper floors:

article 34 (other regulations)

1. The use for the upper floors may be regulated in an elaboration plan, provided that
 - a. the use of the upper floors has to be adjusted to the use on the ground floor as much as possible, in which
 - b. the residential function is always regarded as in harmony with it.

Most of the frames for housing in zone "B" and "R" have the upper number, which is the minimum proportion below which the residential function must not decline This is also the expression of the intention to maintain housing in the inner city.

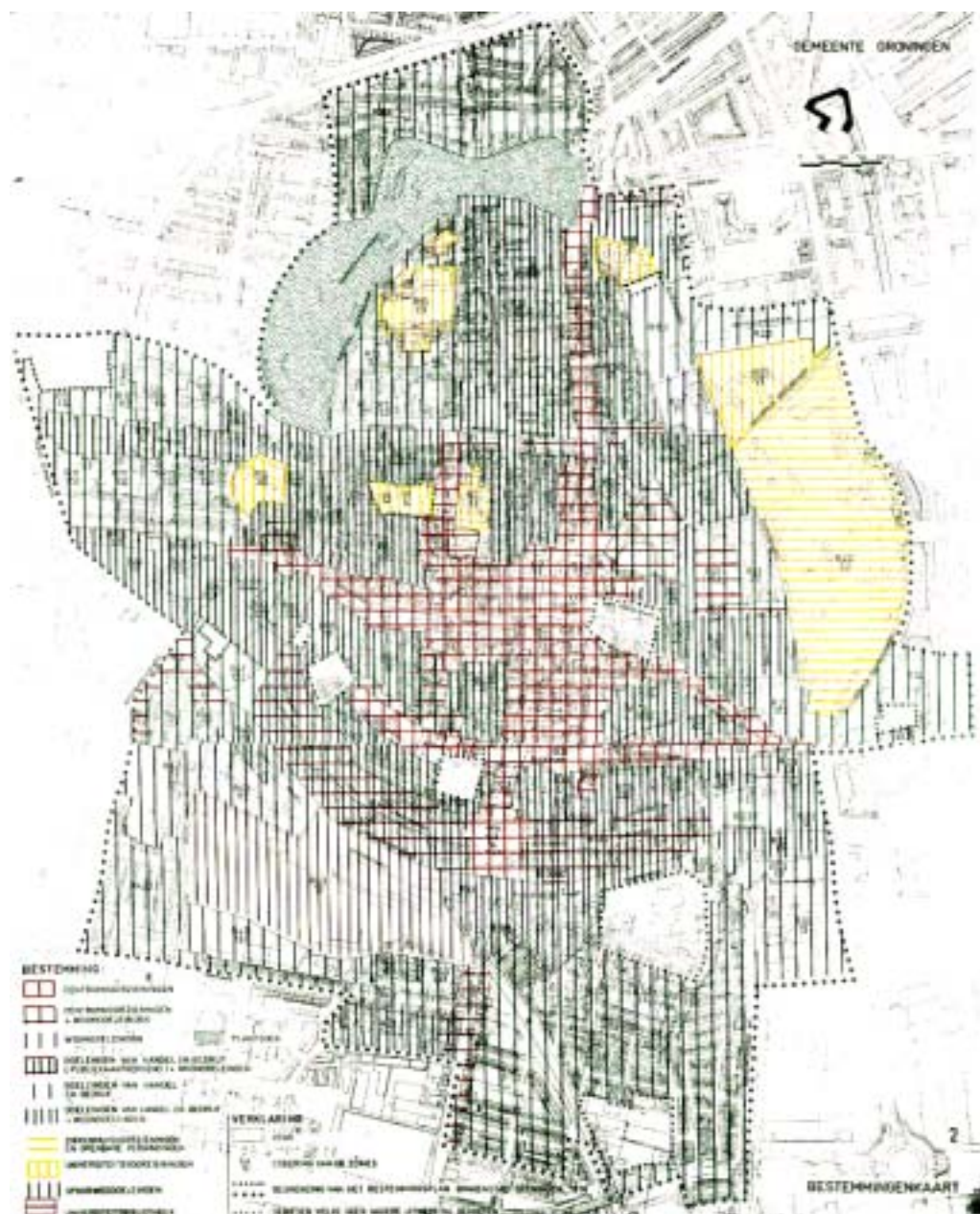


Figure 8. Land use plan of the GBP

2.2.2 Spatial Concept

The plan map "*Behoud en Ontwikkeling Ruimtevormende Structuur*" (Figure 5) in the SBP is, almost without any change, included in the GBP as "*7 Ruimtevormende Elementen*". The three levels of street walls are named "structure line", "structure defining line" and "neutral line" in article 1:

article 1 (description of concept)

n. structure line: the line shown as such in the plan map, on which the modest replacement per building is possible, if it is built on this line;

o. structure defining line: the line shown as such in the plan map, on which the replacement of the building is possible, if it is built on this line, (...)

p. neutral line: the line shown as such in the plan map, on which the structural replacement is possible, if it is built on this line, (...)

According to the above definitions, these lines are not limiting alignments, which buildings cannot exceed, but the building designating lines on which buildings have to be built. Article 16, paragraph 4, also stipulates that the building may be built only attached to these lines. The wavy lines in the SBP, on which the "reconstruction is desired, if not necessary", disappear in the GBP, but the "marginal area (*margegebied*)" is designated for most of them in the building maps (Figure 9). This is an area that is not qualified for building (article 1, subsection i), and the strengthening or recovery of the green structure is intended there, according to the "Explanation" in the GBP. Concerning towers in Figure 5, a tower of the Academieggebouw is added as a result of the NW, and article 31, subsection e, stipulates that the perspectives of these towers have to be maintained or strengthened as much as possible in the elaboration plan.

Besides these stipulations originating from the SBP, the GBP introduces the concept "*korrelgrootte*"²⁰ to protect the small scale and great variety of street walls. This is the average width of building facades per street²¹. The GBP uses the *korrelgrootte* for regulating the building form, in addition to the usual indexes of the floor area ratio, the building-to-land ratio and the number of floors. Article 16, paragraph 3, stipulates that the width of buildings has to be within 30% of the designated *korrelgrootte*.

The plan map "*Ruimtelijk Hoofdsysteem*" (Figure 6) in the SBP is also, almost as it is, included in the GBP, together with code numbers. The table that lists measures for each place is succeeded in the GBP as "Appendix C", erasing measures related to traffic. In the elaboration plan, the measures proposed in Appendix C have to be taken into account as much as possible (article 31, subsection d and article 33, subsection d), and the newly developed routes and places shown in the plan map "*Ruimtelijk Hoofdsysteem*" have to be taken into account as much as possible (article 33, subsection e). Particularly for the two routes that are proposed on the AZ, the "area for public connection (*gebied ten behoeve van openbare verbinding*)" is designated in the building map (Figure 9). This is the area that is qualified for building, if a continuous strip of land within it is designated for public connection (article 1, subsection q).

Finally, the GBP also succeeds the green structure in the SBP, consisting of two circular green belts, as "*6 Hoofdwater- en Hoofdgroenstructuur*", and stipulates that the green structure has to be developed according to this plan map in the elaboration plan (article 33, subsection f).

Although the GBP relied on the elaboration plans to realise many of its proposals, it stuck to the SBP, made it more concrete in some respects and added new elements, such as *korrelgrootte*. It had secured legally the objective of strengthening the encounter function.

The next section will show precisely how these plans were prepared and decided.

3. Planning Process

3.1 The Interim Report and Development Sketches (-December 1975)

3.1.1 The Interim Report

The municipal council approved the Objectives Document on December 4th, 1972, and, at the same time, agreed to let a project group make the draft structure plan and successively the draft broad local land use plan based on the Objectives Document. In response, the project group inner city was established in February 1973. It consisted of civil servants and experts outside the municipality²².

However, the residential environment of the inner city in Groningen had deteriorated severely in those days as a result of the negligence of maintenance in anticipation of big projects. The political breakthrough in the early 1970's²³ led to the abolition of these projects, and consequently the urban renewal²⁴ to revive the inner city as residential neighbourhoods had become a top priority. The decision by the municipal council on May 14th, 1973, demanded that the project group inner city should, in advance of the GBP, propose the areas for urban renewal, the order of priority among them and their objectives. The project group, as a result, was engaged exclusively in planning the urban renewal at first, and submitted the Document "Imagine"²⁵ at the end of February 1974, in which it recommended designating fifteen urban renewal areas, in addition to existing three areas. The follow-up work was succeeded by the project group urban renewal, and the project group inner city finally set out on the original task, the GBP.

During 1974, the project group was engaged in "making an inventory and investigation" "in a degree of isolation"²⁶, with the objectives of answering two questions: "how is the inner city used?" and "how is the inner city experienced?". Although the word "a degree of" is inserted, the Nieuwsblad had never reported the work by the project group during 1974, and there must have been very few who knew the fact that the GBP was being prepared. The project group completed the Interim Report Part ²⁷ that described the result of the investigation in December 1974, the Interim Report Part ²⁸ in January 1975 and published both of them at the end of February 1975²⁹.

The Interim Report Part ²⁷ says its objective "in the first place to launch really broad participation". According to the report, the project group took a "lead" because it had worked "in a degree of isolation". Hence, "the project group, through giving the information and knowledge in an insight-providing form as much as possible, hopes that everyone can make up arrears and subsequently guide the further planning critically". That is why "it was always tried to avoid jargon and 'difficult' words".

However, the fact is that it is impossible to read through and understand this report without considerable patience and expertise about urban design. It explains precisely with small letters over 67 pages (Figure 10), from the historical development of the city, to the condition of the soil, to population, to land use, to business activity, to building investment, to building-to-land ratio, to traffic, to pedestrian behaviour, to "perception value"³⁰ and to the "image of the inner city"³¹. This text is followed by as much as 54 maps (Figure 11), which cannot be understood without laying an attached transparent base map one by one. Concerning the content, it must have been particularly difficult for the public to understand "F.1 Perception Value" and "F.2 Image of the Inner City". The former is said to be "an attempt to make an inventory of and present, in a quantifying way, some factors that contribute to the emergence of *herbergzaamheid* based on the

judgement by the project group", and lists some factors, such as the "spatial closure", "spatial differentiation" or "width of buildings". The latter, F.2, is the result of an investigation "more or less after the model of the methodology used by Lynch (i.e. Kevin Lynch)". Although the result in F.1 leads to the spatial concept in the SBP and then the building designating lines in the GBP, there is no explanation in the report about how the "spatial closure", "spatial differentiation" or "width of buildings" were quantified like Figure 12³². Figure 13 (*52 Intensiteitskaart*) is attached to F.2 and is said to "represent to what extent, that is how often, various elements (streets and squares as well as buildings and functions) were drawn and mentioned" by subjects. Although this map must have influenced the Figure 6 ("*Ruimtelijk Hoofdsysteem*") in the SBP and GBP, there must have been very few who could understand the meaning of this map for planning.

The project group itself recognised the difficulty in reading the Part , and published the Part to deal with this problem. The Part explains its objective in the introduction:

Although a considerable amount of information is made available with the Part , the project group is well aware of the fact that only few will be able to familiarise themselves enough with the material without a 'guidebook'. The Interim Report Part is intended as such a 'guidebook' (perhaps better: 'assistance').

However, the Part is neither the summary nor the explanation of the Part . It is rather an independent report (18 pages followed by 13 maps), which describes in the same format as Part the "problem- and/or conflict situations", such as the decline in the residential function in the inner city or the environmental deterioration caused by the car traffic.

As a result, some municipal councillors criticised the difficulty of these two reports. The reports were blamed for being "indigestible, elitist and incomprehensible for a large number of people" at the council committee for urban development and traffic. R. Lode (PPR) feared, "people are frightened by this mountainous information and they do not participate any more". J. Kamminga (VVD) found "the too much data so confusing that people can never extract the main points" and added in sarcasm, "the only thing that has become clear for me is that the prostitutes in the Nieuwstad are untrained, and those in the Kleine Haddingestraat are trained"³³. G.H. Otten (VVD) submitted a written opinion to the B&W, asking to "let an independent expert make a succinct and readable piece with some essential points" and to hold "a hearing where main things and essential points can be spoken"³⁴. However, Van den Berg did not accept these criticisms and demands:

The problems are complicated and it is not possible to present them simpler. You mishandle the essence of the participation with it (i.e. publishing a simpler version).³⁵

Roel Vos, who was responsible for public participation and a member of the project group, had almost the same opinion as Van den Berg.

The interim reports were sent to neighbourhood committees, which had been activated or organised through the urban renewal since 1973, but there was no response. The reports were also sold at 2 guilders in set at the Binnestadswinkel³⁶ on the Gedempte Zuiderdiep. When 350 copies were sold in total in March 1975, those who bought the reports were invited to participate in the "discussion group" to discuss the reports. Ten discussion groups were organised and met three times from March to May³⁷. However, there was no guarantee of the geographical or social representativeness of participants, who decreased from 85 at first to 60 finally in total. The Interim Report Part ³⁸, which was published in February 1976, is a report about the public

participation after the Part / were published and until the SBP was published. This report introduces the opinions by each discussion group and comments by the project group. These opinions show that participants themselves express doubts about the effectiveness of this participation, like, "participants not representative: a small elite that participates based on interest". Some discussion groups point out that the interim reports are too difficult, and there is a necessity for a "popular version". The project group does not accept these, replying, like Van den Berg, "the objective is a report of making an inventory and investigation, which is as complete as possible" or "the popular version leads to simplification irrevocably".

3.1.2 Development Sketches

The project group published the Development Sketches (*Ontwikkelingsschetsen*, OS) at the end of May 1975 as the first step from the investigation to the plan. In the introduction, the OS says that the SBP will consist of the use concept, spatial concept and traffic concept, and that the OS is regarded as the first attempt for the use concept among them. It proposes three phases, that is the current situation and development, the development in short and medium term and the development on the long(er) term, and argues that the second phase, the development in short and medium term, is the most important. However, the description about even this second phase covers at most two and a half pages, and the whole is only five pages, followed by three rough plan maps for each phase (Figure 14). The OS was sent to participants in the discussion groups early in June, and they met again from June 9th to 13th. The turnout was, however, poor, and the plenary meeting for all discussion groups, which was scheduled a week later, was suspended.

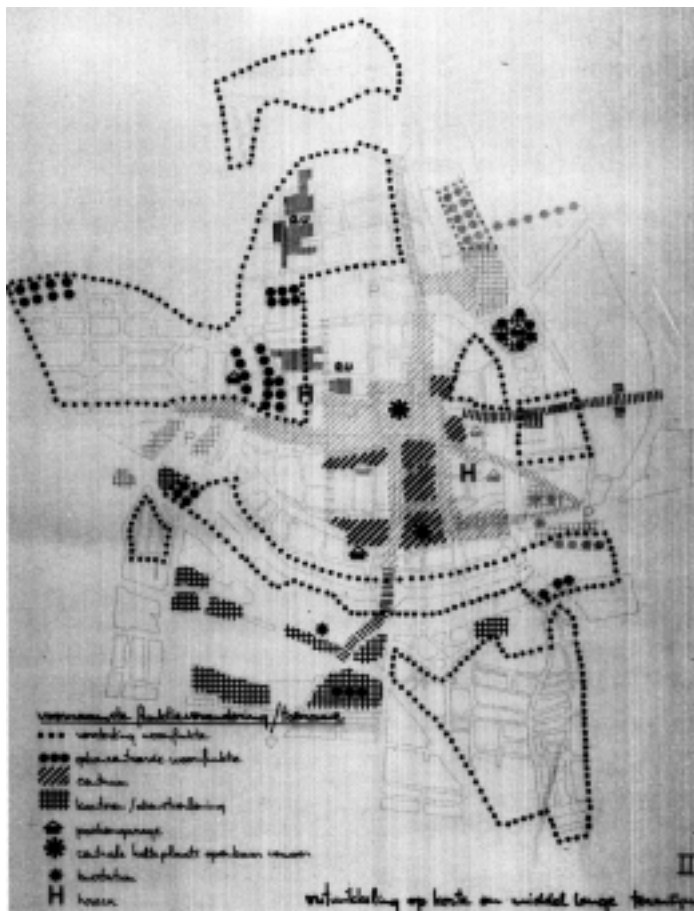


Figure 14. Plan map of the OS (short and medium term)

On the other hand, there were some neighbourhood organisations that responded sensitively to the OS and submitted written opinions.

One was the neighbourhood group of the Binnenstad-Oost, which had been threatened by the expansion plan of the AZ for a long time. The OS accepts that the AZ locates some facilities in the neighbourhood, saying:

The improvement of the permeability of the hospital terrain in the extension of the Nieuwe St. Jansstraat and the better functional interweaving of the hospital and city centre (particularly through locating facilities, which are qualified for it, for example in the catering sector, in the immediate vicinity of the Nieuwe St. Jansstraat) will be able to ease the current isolated situation of the hospital as well as the adjacent neighbourhoods in terms of the centre.

In addition, according to Figure 14 (*Ontwikkeling op korte en middel lange termijn*), which shows the development in short and medium term, the OS seems to regard the Nieuwe St. Jansstraat as a main route to connecting the inner city and the AZ, and farther the Oosterparkwijk. The neighbourhood group feared that this might lead to the division of the neighbourhood.

The neighbourhood group of the Hortusbuurt submitted a written opinion with similar concerns. The residential environment here had already been undermined a few years ago through the construction of the huge Alfa -gebouw of the RUG, and was still threatened by its further expansion plans. The OS, however, says, "in addition to the dispersed university facilities, the strengthening of the current cores in the Harmonie- and Hortusgebied can be regarded as acceptable", and draws rather generously a zone for the RUG in the Hortusbuurt in the plan map.

The neighbourhood council³⁹ of the Davidstraatbuurt, which is south of the central station, also submitted a written opinion. The municipality planned to build here office complexes, accommodating the Postal Services (PTT) and so on, and already began to tear down houses, while the neighbourhood council asked for the renewal as the residential neighbourhood and strongly resisted the municipal plan, occupying evacuated houses in some cases. The OS clearly says, "indeed the area between the Hereweg and the Emmaviaduct is particularly very suitable for accommodating employment centres, because of the capacity and location (near the N.S.-station and the centre)". The neighbourhood is also included in the "office/service (*kantoren/dienstverlening*)" zone in the plan map, although the "concentrated residential function (*gekonsentreerde woonfunctie*)" is designated for a part of the neighbourhood.⁴⁰

With increasing interests among these neighbourhoods, about 60 people attended "the meeting with which the participation related to the Development Sketches was concluded"⁴¹ on June 26th. Residents from these three neighbourhoods as well as participants in the discussion groups attended it. Residents insisted that "too many things" were "very vague", and the project group promised, "harder data will be presented in the near future" and "it is particularly shown separately per street what must and what must not happen"⁴². According to the same article of the Nieuwsblad, "a series of discussions between the project group inner city and the neighbourhood associations is resumed in September". In fact, the project group met the three neighbourhood organisations on September 4th, but did not show any concrete plans, as mentioned above. This turned out to be the first and last meeting with neighbourhood organisations before the SBP was published.

The project group met business groups, that is the Chamber of Commerce and Groningen Entrepreneur Federation, and the AZ and RUG several times during this period⁴³.

The local land use plan restricts precisely building activities, or at least leads to precise restrictions by elaboration plans. If it is planned for a built-up area, many residents or property owners ought to have a great interest in it. However, during this period, because there were only very difficult reports and a very vague plan, the public had little interest. According to the Interim Report Part , only 10 organisations, including the above neighbourhood organisations, and only 11 individuals submitted written opinions to the municipality during this period.

The project group presented the SBP, which is full of various measures as shown in Section 2, at a press conference on December 10th, 1975, and the plan occupied the whole page of the Nieuwsblad on the day. The B&W intended at first to make the structure plan based on the Spatial Planning Act. However, because the work for the urban renewal was inserted, the schedule delayed considerably, and the B&W decided at the beginning of 1975 to make not the structure plan, which demands legal procedures, but the urban design plan not based on the Act. The project group was dissolved, on schedule, at the end of December, and the remaining work was taken over by the work group inner city, which consisted of almost the same members as the project group.

3.2 Decision on the Urban Design Plan (-May 1976)

3.2.1 Little Interest

The project group regarded the SBP as "a discussion piece that reflects the opinion of the project group", and this opinion, according to the group, could be "criticised, corrected, supplemented or confirmed in the participation"⁴⁴. The SBP, like the interim reports, was sold at the Binnenstadswinkel, and the Nieuwsblad dated December 19th reported that more than 600 copies had already been bought⁴⁵.

However, Van den Berg told at the press conference on December 10th that the public participation was already in the "final stage":

Only organised groups that strive for a concrete interest get the opportunity to express their opinion about the plan by the project group inner city in Groningen, which was published yesterday. They will have to make haste, because the period for participation is until February. The *college* does not want to have anything to do with individual reactions. Actually the participation is already in the final stage, *wethouder* M. van den Berg made clear so yesterday afternoon at a press conference. (...) The discussion of the urban design plan at the municipal council is held immediately in March.⁴⁶

According to this article, the public participation was scheduled until February, and the B&W intended to propose the plan to the council in as early as March. In addition, concerning the "information evening" about the SBP scheduled at the Cultuurcentrum on December 18th, Van den Berg cautioned not to regard this evening as the start of participation, saying, "only information is given. We start participation in January"⁴⁷. Otten expressed anxiety that the period reserved for participation was too short.

The GBP reports the public participation in the SBP in the Explanation ("7 Results of Participation and Consultation") as follows:

Because of the step-by-step progress of the participation, the emphasis continued to lie in the communication with the groups that had consulted with the project group repeatedly in the preceding periods or phases.

The NW, which proposed some modifications to the SBP "based on the submitted responds"⁴⁸, includes a chronological table of the meetings related to the SBP between the work group and various groups. This table shows that, except for the organisations that consulted with the project group during the former stage⁴⁹, only neighbourhood committees met the work group just once during the "neighbourhood tour" that was held from January to February⁵⁰. In this neighbourhood tour, Van den Berg visited 18 urban renewal areas together with both the work group inner city and the work group urban renewal, and discussed with each neighbourhood committee the urban renewal as well as the SBP⁵¹.

Although it can be concluded that the opportunity for the public to participate was extremely limited, the more fundamental problem was that the SBP, like interim reports, was very difficult to read, and, as a result, the public had little interest in it. The SBP, for example, evaluates the *herbergzaamheid* of the street walls and categorises the street walls into three levels. This evaluation, however, does not always correspond to the scores of Figure 12 in the Interim Report . It is also unclear how routes and places of the main system are designated. The cited explanation in section 2 is almost all the explanation in the SBP. However, there must have been very few who could read through this planning document, with 61 pages in total and written in small letters as in the interim reports, find their own code number and understand exactly what kind of restrictions would be imposed on their lands. Hence, the above mentioned vagueness of designation had not become the subjects of public discussion at all. Although Roel Vos reported that the neighbourhood tour was highly attended in every neighbourhood, this must have been caused by the fact that the urban renewal, the more urgent problem for residents, was simultaneously placed on the agenda⁵². Except for the neighbourhood organisations in the Binnenstad-Oost, Hortusbuurt and Davidstraatbuurt, they did not participate any more in the planning of the GBP. Concerning individuals, there were only three who submitted written opinions about the SBP until the NW was published.

While the public had little interest, the above three neighbourhood organisations exceptionally took part in the planning. The following will show how the B&W and the project group or work group dealt with problems or conflicts in these neighbourhoods. In the SBP, the last chapter, "6 Some Separate Issues", describes the policy for these neighbourhoods precisely.

3.2.2 AZ (Binnenstad-Oost)

The project group, "based on the discussion with representatives of the Academic Hospital"⁵³, presented in the SBP precise plans or restrictions for the AZ with a plan map (Figure 15). Concerning "the use", it proposed a policy that took into account the anxiety among residents of the Binnenstad-Oost:

- the hospital remains within its own (current) site when it realises the necessary use area, including the necessary parking place;
 - it is desirable that some small facilities, which are consistent with the existing building or its scale and attract visitors (for example in the precaution- or information sector), are located along the connecting routes between the city centre and the AZ;
- (...)

Concerning "the spatial structure", the project group proposed in terms of the inner city as a whole:

- the boundary line of the building (building line) along the Oostersingel will be set back so that

the laying of a green belt that runs from north to south becomes possible;

(...)

- the public connection will be realised over the site of the Academic Hospital in the extension of the Walstraat and Sint Jansstraat for the benefit of pedestrians, cyclists and (concerning the northern route) public transport, through which the eastern part of the city gets better connection to the city centre;

- it must be strived for to give the main connection, which runs north-south within the site of the Academic Hospital, public characteristics as much as possible and give the crossing of this connection with the east-west routes a clear (qua orientation) form, through which the hospital – such as other neighbourhoods in the inner city – can be connected to the spatial system of the city and lose its closure and barrier effect;

(...)

In the same spatial structure, the project group provided the AZ with "the possibility of intensive building" of the site, in compensation for containing the developments within the current site. However, it attached some conditions:

- this intensifying must be sought in a continuous, dense (inner-city-like) building structure and not in an extremely high-rise building of free-standing building mass;
- the building-to-land ratio of 40 to 50% and the height of average 4 to 5 stories can be realised without problems, while the buildings remain lower (2 to 4 stories) on the outskirts of the site(...)

Concerning "the traffic", it stipulated, "the demand for parking facilities raised by the hospital will be settled on its own site", and also added some conditions for access routes to the site.

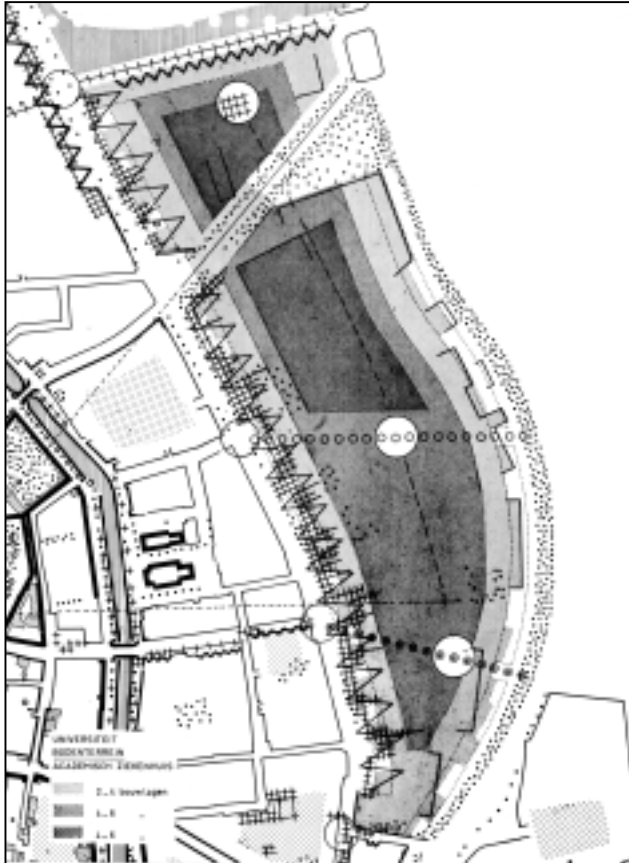


Figure 15. AZ in the SBP

On the other hand, for the Binnenstad-Oost, Figure 15 shows a wavy line on the south side of the Nieuwe St. Jansstraat. The SBP as well as the OS regards this street as an east-west main route, and the project group intended to widen this, demolishing houses on the south side, so that busses could run. Consequently in Table 1, the zone R.2.1/2.2.1 gets the marking "-" in the column of housing. Instead, the project group accepted that some AZ-related facilities would be located here.

The neighbourhood group of the Binnenstad-Oost consulted with the work group about the SBP on January 15th. Because the Binnenstad-Oost was designated an urban renewal area, the neighbourhood tour visited this neighbourhood on January 26th⁵⁴. A joint meeting, attended by both the neighbourhood group and the AZ, was also

arranged by the work group on February 26th.

The neighbourhood group was basically "very enthusiastic"⁵⁵ about the SBP, except for widening the Nieuwe St. Jansstraat, demolishing houses for it and the AZ-related facilities being located. On the other hand, the AZ opposed the proposals in the SBP entirely, and sent a written protest full of anger to the municipality:

After a hopeful beginning, we are disappointed with the content of the plan, in which we recognise our wishes and ideas in a minimum way. Still worse, so many aspects, which were not consulted in advance, must be regarded as being exclusively unfavourable to our hospital and its future functioning.⁵⁶

While almost no consensus was achieved among the neighbourhood group, the AZ and the work group at the joint meeting on February 26th, the work group published the NW in March. As Figure 16 ("*D Binnenstad-Oost*") shows, the wavy line for the Nieuwe St. Jansstraat was changed to the thin "neutral" line on the eastern block, where houses stood⁵⁷. In addition, the (-) marking for the zone R.2.1/2.2.1 was scraped, which means "no remarkable change". Although the possibility of the AZ-related facilities being located was not entirely excluded, the work group again took into account the desire among residents to a certain degree. On the other hand, measures for the AZ were almost intact. The AZ had to be basically contained within the current site, and the two east-west public routes were also maintained in the NW. Even at the council committee for urban development on May 15th, just before the council meeting that dealt with the SBP and NW, Van den Berg conceded that the divergence of views remained between the municipality and the AZ.

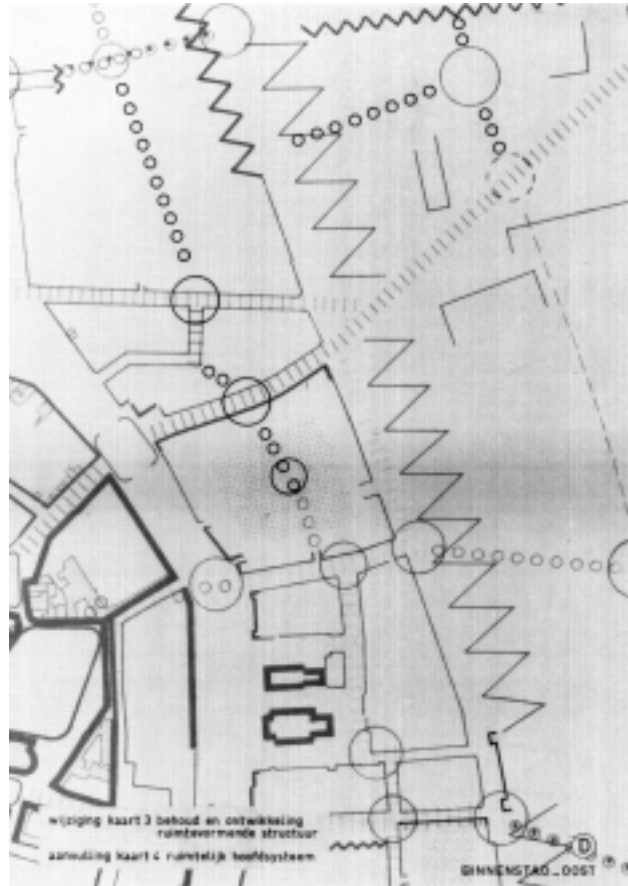


Figure 16. AZ in the NW

3.2.3 RUG (Hortusbuurt)

The project group pointed out in the SBP that the facilities of the RUG and its expansion plan had seriously undermined the residential environment of the Hortusbuurt:

The problem of the university core in the Hortusbuurt lies particularly in its location in the middle of a neighbourhood with an important residential function. Residential function, which was seriously undermined in terms of urban design and visually through the Alfa -gebouw, and also functionally through the current still more of the university facilities and even their threatening further scattering.

With this understanding, the SBP adopts as "the most important statement" "the accurate (spatial) definition of the current and future university area", and attaches Figure 17 that shows the area. As this plan map shows, the SBP also designates the height of the university buildings, and tries to calm their influence on the surrounding houses through restricting their height to lower on the outskirts. It has to be examined, according to the SBP, to even reduce the existing university uses outside this area.

The neighbourhood group of the Hortusbuurt met the work group to discuss the SBP on the same day as the Binnenstad-Oost, that is on January 15th, and because the Hortusbuurt was also one of the urban renewal areas, the neighbourhood tour visited it on January 28th. The work group again arranged the joint meeting, attended by both the neighbourhood group and the RUG, on February 19th and March 11th. Published after these meetings, the NW reconfirms the original principle, saying, "concerning the Hortusbuurt, the possibility of locating the university that was adopted in the urban design plan is maximum". In addition, because residents were particularly afraid that the Grote Kruisstraat would become a "RUG-street, with sombre and dead characteristics at night and at weekends"⁵⁸, the NW draws clearly the area of "maintaining residential function (*handhaving woonfunctie*)" along the street in the plan map (Figure 18). It also adds conditions for university facilities along the Grote Appelstraat, such as that the width of the facades is within 20% of the total length of the street or that the width per building is within 15 metre. Although residents still hoped that the university area was limited more clearly, they indeed "could achieve various things"⁵⁹ in the NW as well as the SBP.

On the other hand, these proposals were strongly rejected by the RUG. Particularly it was urgent for the RUG to build a new library,



Figure 17. RUG in the SBP

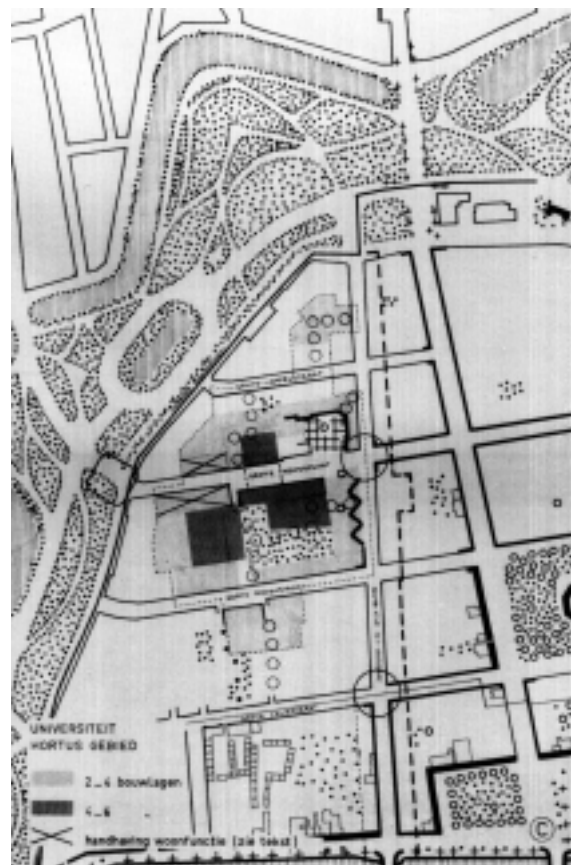


Figure 18. RUG in the NW

and the university council had decided to build a large library in the Hortusbuurt, crossing over the Grote Kruisstraat. The B&W wanted the new library to be accommodated in the Martinikerk and its surrounding buildings on the Broerplein, across from the Academiegebouw. The executive committee of the RUG sent a letter to the municipal council, asking strongly not to approve the SBP and NW, just before they were proposed to the council. The following is the article in the Nieuwsblad, dated May 21st, reporting this letter.

The municipal executive of Groningen will have to change the urban design plan for the inner city fundamentally. If that does not happen, then the National University will leave almost no other possibility than to go out to the Paddepoel campus. In a thorough, but clear letter to the municipal council, the executive committee of the university leaves no room of questioning any more: the municipal executive makes it almost impossible for this institution to maintain the substantial part of the faculties and facilities in the inner city. The members of the municipal council are then also asked with great emphasis not to approve the proposal 'Urban Design Plan for the inner city' in the form such as the *college van B. en W.* moulded it.

The RUG insisted that it would take a long time for expropriation and be financially difficult to locate the library on the Broerplein, while the university already owned a sufficient land in the Hortusbuurt. It warned that it would build the library in the suburban Paddepoel campus and faculties, such as Arts or Theology, would also move there, if the proposals by the B&W were approved as they were. Van den Berg responded harshly to this strong attitude by the RUG, saying, "it is not the university council but the municipal council that decides what happens in the inner city"⁶⁰. Like the case with the AZ, the strong opposition or conflicts remained just before the municipal council meeting.

3.2.4 Davidstraatbuurt

The SBP mentioned the Davidstraatbuurt in the policy for the whole station area, "N.S. –station and surroundings". For this whole area, it says:

Through building offices in service sector, including larger offices, the possibility emerges to realise as many jobs as possible with minimum traffic- and, particularly, parking problems within walking distance of the centre. (...) In addition, it is possible to build residences, particularly on the upper floors.

Concerning the Davidstraatbuurt, the SBP emphasises that it does not intend to change the neighbourhood into a large business district, which residents feared:

In such a mixed form (of service and housing), the accent can lie more in building houses in the eastern part (...) In the Davidstraatbuurt, smaller offices in the service sector (combined with housing) can be thought (...)

Because the municipality had planned to build a totally new neighbourhood for the Davidstraatbuurt, it was not designated as an urban renewal area, and, as a result, it was not the subject of the neighbourhood tour. The work group met the neighbourhood council only once the same day as the former two neighbourhood groups, on January 15th. The neighbourhood council submitted a written opinion to the municipality, and it organised a meeting together with the surrounding shop keepers on March 24th. It submitted to the municipality again a motion that was approved at the meeting. The neighbourhood council was not satisfied with the policy in the

SBP of the mixed form of smaller offices and houses. It asked for redeveloping the neighbourhood basically as a residential neighbourhood without delay.

Considering the desires from the neighbourhood, the work group, in the NW, pointed out that "the current uncertainty can be taken away only when more detailed plans are made for the area", and asked with great emphasis to give high priority to making such plans. In addition, "at least in some degree to meet the (justified) desires from the neighbourhood council", the work group showed concretely the proportion of the building area for housing on a detailed map (Figure 19).

The NW contains eight pages of text, a list of public meetings related to the SBP and a list of submitted written opinions, and three plan maps for the above three neighbourhoods. The proposed modifications are, except for the three neighbourhoods, mainly related to the printing errors.

The B&W proposed the SBP and NW to the municipal council on May 24th.

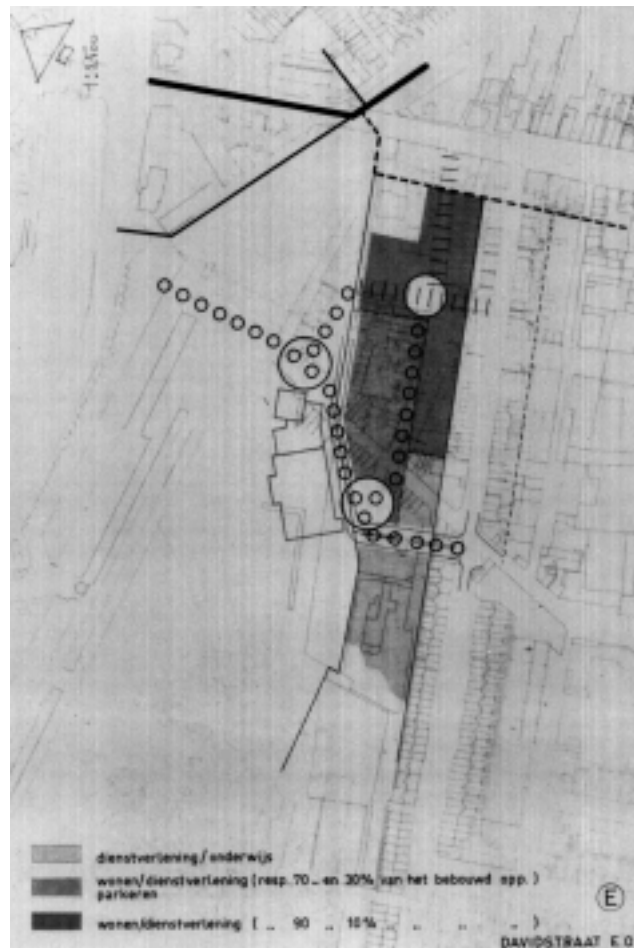


Figure 19. Davidstraatbuurt in the NW

3.2.5 Decision on the SBP and NW

At the council meeting on May 24th, the nongovernment parties CDA and VVD asked for the postponement of the decision, insisting that consultations should be resumed with the AZ and RUG, both of which opposed strongly proposals by the B&W. E.G. IJspeert, the chairman of the CDA, argued, "we must try to reach to solution in substantial concerted action"⁶¹, and the VVD proposed a motion with the above intention. When Van den Berg answered the next day, on May 25th, he did not expect anything in resuming consultations, saying, "Substantially conflicting interests cannot be discussed with each other". Then which interest does he stand for?

Some interests in this city manage to protect themselves a bit better than others. We are here to protect those who cannot defend their interests so well.⁶²

Consequently, the AZ and RUG "must make a step to accept the plans, such as they now lie". A vote was taken on that day, and it was approved by a simple majority that the B&W set out on making the GBP based on the SBP and NW, with the CDA and VVD opposing. The motion by the VVD got only six votes from its own party.⁶³

3.3 Decision on the Broad Local Land Use Plan (-February 1978)

3.3.1 Public Inspection

Immediately after the approval by the municipal council of the SBP and NW, the work group set

out on their legal translation into the GBP, but the far-reaching public participation was still not realised. The Explanation in the GBP describes as follows:

Also in this phase, consultations took place with some of the 'fixed' participants, although they were incidental and focused on specific (detailed) parts.

When the SBP and NW were proposed to the council, the Nieuwsblad reported precisely the discussion or disputes around them. However, after their approval, the articles related to the GBP disappeared entirely.

Almost a year later, on May 13th, 1977, Van den Berg, suddenly so to speak, presented the draft of the GBP at a press conference:

This local land use plan is not an architectural dictator. It offers room enough for residents to build fully. And that is the basic idea. The city hall does not build the city fully.⁶⁴

Before the council meeting, the council committee for the urban development discussed this draft, but the members of the committee had difficulty in understanding this at all:

The members of the committee had difficulty clearly in handling concepts such as '*korrelgrootte*', 'height of buildings' and 'elaboration plan required'. What does this mean for the developer that proposes a plan? A rather complicated puzzle.⁶⁵

The council on June 21st discussed whether the draft should be made available for public inspection based on the law. W.A.J. Hendriksen (PvdA) praised it as "the temporary crowning glory of the work by Max van den Berg and the progressive parties"⁶⁶. On the other hand, considering the difficulty in understanding the draft, IJspeert (CDA) asked for the "extensive informing", and Otten (VVD) proposed a motion to establish "a guiding committee" that facilitated the understanding among citizens.

This draft of the GBP consists of roughly three parts, that is "Plan Maps"⁶⁷(19 pieces), "Explanation"⁶⁸(55 pages) and "Regulations and Rules"⁶⁹(49 articles and appendixes A - D). Although it is the Plan Maps and Regulations and Rules that directly interfere with civil rights, the Explanation devotes only seven pages to explaining these. Particularly although the draft chose the broad local land use plan as a type of the local land use plan, a rather unfamiliar type in those days, it settles with the following general explanation about its legal effects:

The Spatial Planning Act speaks about the local land use plan. Various types are also possible in a local land use plan. The detailed local land use plan and the broad local land use plan (also called 'spots plan'⁷⁰) are the most familiar. (...) In such a broad plan, only main points are fixed, and the more detailed elaboration is carried out by mayor and *wethouders*. When it is elaborated in further detail, mayor and *wethouders* must take into account the regulations that are prescribed in the (broad) plan concerning elaboration. The 'local land use plan for the inner city of Groningen 1976' is a broad local land use plan, and, as a result, takes on an 'open characteristic' that was intended in the Objectives Document (see 5.1.2). Nothing was fixed in the local land use plan more than strictly necessary. However, safeguards against unwanted change of the structure and characteristic of the inner city were built in.

The Explanation quotes, summarising, the interim reports and SBP, and devotes nearly its half (25 pages) to them. However, it still cannot wipe out the difficulty with these reports as mentioned earlier. In addition, although the GBP shows the maximum (and minimum for housing) proportion for each function per zone (Table 3), the map showing the code number for each zone,

which was included in the SBP, strangely enough lacks in the GBP. The GBP describes, instead, those code numbers on the land use plan (Figure 8), which is itself complicated. It is absolutely impossible to understand this draft of the GBP, unless readers have a certain degree of expertise about urban planning, and patience or diligence to shuttle between pages and return to past reports.

However, the council rejected the motion proposed by Otten the next day, on June 22nd, and Van den Berg also showed a limiting attitude towards objections:

In the past years, there have been tremendously many consultations with all those possibly interested. We are prepared to reconsider parts of the plan, but new information must be provided for it. All objections from the past were taken into account, and that does not happen again.⁷¹

"All objections from the past" must have included the opposition by the AZ and RUG against the SBP. On the other hand, the B&W made arrangements for public participation through scheduling the public inspection after the summer vacation, from August 16th until September 15th. The council approved unanimously making the draft available for public inspection on the day.

The public inspection began at the city hall on August 16th, and the draft of the GBP was sold at 12.50 guilders, this time, at the City Department of Finance in the Naberpassage. During this public inspection, a dispute erupted between the B&W and the VVD. Because the motion to establish a guiding committee was rejected, the VVD sent letters to business people in the inner city, informing them that the draft was made available for public inspection and that it was possible to lodge objections to it. This repelled the B&W. Deputy Mayor J. Wallage (PvdA) called this action "a remarkable initiative"⁷² and blamed the VVD, saying, "the big problem of the VVD is whether it must be loyal to the municipality of Groningen or to its own party interests"⁷³. Kamminga (VVD) refuted as follows:

Wallage overlooks one aspect, and that is remarkable and sad: The interest of citizens of this city. That is our priority.⁷⁴

Van den Berg expected at first "a flood of objections"⁷⁵ to come. It must have been natural for those who were acquainted with the content of the plan. However, the fact is that there were only 43 objections that were lodged by September 15th. Van den Berg interpreted this:

It shows that our procedure has considerably succeeded, in which we have discussed with all those interested thoroughly about the content.⁷⁶

The breakdown of these objections reveals that there are 18 objections from the Hortusbuurt (individuals, neighbourhood group, and RUG) and 5 objections from the Binnenstad-Oost (neighbourhood group, AZ and RUG about the Bodenterrein). This means that objections from the two neighbourhoods, which had participated in the planning since before, account for more than half of lodged objections. In addition, among other objections, "there are some that did not understand the content of the terribly complicated plan at all"⁷⁷, and Otten listed concretely 6 objections that did not understand the legal meaning of the broad local land use plan⁷⁸. The following is the quotation from the objection by the Royal Dutch Entrepreneur Association (KNOV):

It is impossible for those who are not schooled in the spatial planning to examine what the concrete possibilities are of the plan. The complexity of the plan, together with the calculation that

must be made, makes it impossible to examine if someone will be able to undertake particular building activities. The plan is not readable and understandable.⁷⁹

Although this plan was indeed "broad", it would influence substantially the building activities in the future, and it covered the whole inner city. The total of 43 objections, or 20 if objections from the two neighbourhoods are not calculated, is too few. The weak interest because of the difficulty in understanding it must have considerably influenced this result.

It will now be examined how the B&W dealt with these few objections.

3.3.2 Decision on the GBP

Apart from the two neighbourhoods, the B&W judged only one objection (including the two neighbourhoods) "founded", two objections "partly founded"⁸⁰, and two "inadmissible", and it rejected all the rest, judging them "unfounded". Although the cited objection by the KNOF was judged inadmissible, because it did not arrive before the deadline and was sent to the B&W, not to the council, the B&W included its answer to this objection, like other objections, in the proposal to the council. It responded to the criticism that the plan was unreadable as follows:

We regarded this as false. On the other hand, we were also well aware that the plan was not accessible for everyone. Just for this reason, we offered the opportunity for everyone to become acquainted with the plan before the official public inspection, from the middle of May 1977 to the beginning of June 1977. If there was difficulty there, a professional support could be provided. Office hours specially arranged for this were made available during the above-mentioned term. Ample publicity was given to this with various advertisements. Also in the time of the public inspection of the plan, there was ample opportunity to get a professional support. However, the petitioner did not make use of these possibilities.

However, except for the pages of advertisements, the Nieuwsblad mentioned these "office hours" only in the article dated May 14th, reporting the press conference with Van den Berg, with the last three lines, saying, "There are also office hours for citizens and groups; an expert is made available for this". Even if people know such an opportunity, they will not make use of it when they do not notice the importance of matters.

For the two neighbourhoods, Van den Berg himself took the lead in the negotiation between neighbourhood groups on one hand, and the AZ and RUG on the other hand. Both neighbourhoods reached agreements at the end of January 1978⁸¹, and, as Van den Berg said, "we gave both parties (i.e. neighbourhood groups and institutions) only small margins", the basic principle of containing both institutions within the current sites was maintained. The area for the new university library (*universiteitsbibliotheek*) remained drawn clearly in the building map on the Broerplein (Figure 9), where the B&W had wanted to locate the library from the beginning. The east-west routes on the AZ also remained clearly drawn as the "area for public connection".

After all, except for "one point " that the municipality had to make a concession clearly⁸², the draft of the GBP was proposed, almost as it was, to the council on February 6th, accompanied by the answers by the B&W to objections. At the council meeting, Otten again pointed out that the draft was "for the average citizen not clear, not understandable and difficult to handle"⁸³, and criticised the B&W for not establishing a guiding committee. Van den Berg promised to arrange "office hours, in which citizens can be familiarised with the plan"⁸⁴. Finally, the draft, "the pinnacle of the work that particularly *wethouder* Max van den Berg has done concerning the

inner city for the past eight years"⁸⁵, was unanimously approved.

3.3.3 Unresolved Conflict

In fact, there remained an unresolved conflict, and it came to the surface rather after the approval by the municipal council.

In the Davidstraatbuurt, for which the NW asked strongly to make detailed plans, the neighbourhood council took the initiative in the planning. With support from architect Jan Giesen, it made a redevelopment plan with emphasis on reviving the area as a residential neighbourhood. In order to accommodate the current and former residents, who had been evacuated, the plan proposed to build 200–250 low-rent houses, many of which were intended for the single and aged. Concerning office developments, it accepted only two buildings, that is the shipping office of the PTT and the building of the City Department of Social Service (GSD). On the other hand, it rejected gigantic parking garages that had been planned in the neighbourhood.

Although he confronted harshly the neighbourhood council before⁸⁶, Van den Berg appreciated these "enormous efforts" by the neighbourhood council, and the work group Davidstraat was established in January 1977. It was responsible for proposing a redevelopment plan based on the plan by the neighbourhood council, and consisted of members of the neighbourhood council and municipal experts. The work group worked involving the former as well as current residents, and submitted a redevelopment plan to the municipality at the end of September 1977. It proposed to build 163 houses and renovate 17 existing houses. Because the draft of the GBP, which was prepared and made available for public inspection in the meantime, took this redevelopment plan into consideration, the neighbourhood council did not lodge an objection to it⁸⁷.

However, the PTT, whose office was already under construction in the neighbourhood, strongly opposed the draft of the GBP. The original plan, which was presented to the PTT by the municipality, was "extremely attractive"⁸⁸, including an access road with a width of 22 metre and two huge parking garages in the surrounding. When it heard "the sounds" of planning by the neighbourhood council from 1976 to early 1977, the PTT got anxious. Although it sent a letter to the municipality in May 1977 and made it clear, "we would not be able to agree to the change of the plan, if it results in worsening the accessibility, solution of traffic and possibility of parking", it could not get any answer. In August, when it examined the draft of the GBP, which was made available for public inspection, the PTT was surprised. The 22 metre wide access road was narrowed to 8 metre, and only 11 parking spaces were reserved. The PTT immediately lodged an objection to this draft, which "deadly strikes its interests "⁸⁹.

The B&W, at least ostensibly, had not regarded this objection as serious until the council meeting on February 6th, 1978, which approved the draft. That is why it agreed, although temporarily, to the redevelopment plan by the work group in December 1977, and the answer to the objection, which was prepared for the proposal to the council, said:

The access of the above mentioned area is secured by an 8 metre wide road, which has enough capacity according to our judgement. (...) The proposed plan provides enough possibilities to solve the problems pointed out by the PTT.⁹⁰

Even at the council committee for urban development just before the council meeting, on January 23rd, Van den Berg told, "the objection from the PTT can be easily absorbed":

People just want to safeguard themselves in advance against some claims because of noise pollution from the shipping centre. When we build new houses, we will definitely take into account

the location as well as the noise insulation.⁹¹

At the council meeting on February 6th, Van den Berg finally conceded that the PTT would lodge its objection further with the *Gedeputeerde Staten* and that, as a result, it could be tremendously delayed to realise the redevelopment plan. In fact, the PTT lodged a objection with the *Gedeputeerde Staten* against the GBP, which left it "no viable chance"⁹². This problem concerning the PTT was not solved while Van den Berg was in office, and the new B&W, which was organised in September 1978, continued to negotiate with the PTT.

4. Conclusion

The SBP adopted contemporary planning themes, like the strengthening of the encounter function of the inner city, and, to realise this, the protection and reinforcement of the functional colourfulness, the residential function or the *herbergzaamheid* of the public space, and transformed those themes into precise as well as broad measures. It was also a kind of idealistic plan that reflected directly the wishes of planners. In addition, this idealistic plan was, almost as it was, translated into laws as the GBP, without being added to a heap of innumerable idealistic plans that had been created but not realised in history.

However, the planning process was by no means contemporary as well as idealistic.

The GBP bothers to put a separate section "2.2 Collaboration Planning"⁹³ in the Explanation, and argues that it was the starting point for the planning process that "the further elaboration of the Objectives Document must happen in a continuous and as optimal as possible dialogue with all those interested and concerned". The planning process chosen for this starting point was, according to the GBP, the "open plan process" with the following characteristics:

- a strong phasing;
- publishing and bringing up for discussion the achieved results at the end of each phase and
- showing at each phase the choices that have already been made or decisions that have been taken and the still remaining "latitude" for participation.

The planning process was indeed phased with the interim reports, OS, SBP, NW and GBP, and these planning documents were made available for the public at each phase. However, these documents were all very difficult to understand, and the B&W consistently rejected issuing popular versions, just like in the case of the Objectives Document⁹⁴. The above third characteristic worked rather restrictively for public participation, as typically shown in the statement by Van den Berg before the public inspection. Concerning the VCP, because the content of the plan was very simple, that is dividing the inner city into four sectors, there emerged intensive discussion (or opposition) among the public, but the B&W provided very few opportunities for participation. On the other hand, in the case of the GBP, because the content of the plan was extremely difficult, it was hardly discussed among the public. Consequently, the GBP was decided, while most of the public had not participated in the planning at all, although the plan itself was very important and influential for the inner city.

However, in a few neighbourhoods, where there had been serious problems about the residential environments since before, and the content of the GBP might greatly influence the problems, residents had strong interest in the GBP, and conflicts around the GBP emerged between residents (neighbourhood organisations) and the institutions. It was polarisation that the B&W relied on to solve these conflicts. Instead of pursuing the compromise between conflicting interests, the B&W made the conflicts clear and stood by one side, exclusively the residents in this case. Although the polarisation was not so clearly expressed within the municipal council as in the case of the VCP, this principle of new left parties can be clearly observed in the neighbourhoods through the planning process of the GBP.

It was again the politicians that took initiative in the planning. The project group (later work group) inner city consisted of not only experts outside the municipality but also civil servants, and, among the latter, there were Roel Vos and Henk Pol, both of whom were right-hand men of Van den Berg and active members of the PvdA. The project group met Van den Berg weekly, and Van

den Berg himself, in some cases, took the lead in the planning.

In the local election of 1978, while all the government parties (PvdA, CPN and PPR) decreased their seats, the D'66, which strongly advocated public participation, won three seats. As a result, the new B&W was organised by four PvdAers, one CPNer and one D'66er. This new B&W continued the negotiation with the PTT. Finally, the municipality and the PTT reached agreements on condition that the municipality would build a four-lane road as an access road and 20 parking spaces, and provide 20 more parking spaces to be shared by the GSD. On the other hand, the municipality later gave up building the GSD there, because of the remarkable increase of cost caused by the prolonged negotiation with the PTT and those conditions provided with the PTT. The urban planning from the late 1970's, like this, and the causal relationship between planning and the new political situation will be the next theme of research.

Note

1 Before the Spatial Planning Act, there was an expansion plan (*uitbreidingsplan*) based on the Housing Act, which was enforced in 1901. The existing expansion plans were regarded as the local land use plans when the Spatial Planning Act was enforced.

2 About the planning process and content, see TSUBOHARA, S. (2003), *Politicisation, Polarisation and Public Participation: Planning History of Groningen, the Netherlands, in 1970's*, Research paper, Urban and Regional Studies Institute, University of Groningen

3 HAJEMA, L. (2001), *De Glazenwassers van het Bestuur: Lokale Overheid, Massamedia, Burgers en Communicatie: Groningen in Landelijk Perspectief 1945-2001*, Assen, Koninklijke Van Gorcum

4 About the overview of the Dutch municipal organisation, see TSUBOHARA, S. (2003)

5 *versterking van de ontmoetingsfunctie*

6 *veelkleurigheid en verwevenheid van functies*

7 *herbergzaamheid en belevingswaarde van de openbare ruimten*. *Herbergzaamheid* is a non-existing Dutch word, based on the word "herbergen", which means to accommodate or harbour. *Herbergzaamheid* could therefore be described as hospitable environment. The SBP does not explain precisely the meaning of "*herbergzaamheid*". Although this concept originates from the Objectives Document, it does not explain its meaning itself either, but suggests some measures that contribute to "*herbergzaamheid*":

8.3. *herbergzaamheid*

8.3.1 The inner city must provide "*herbergzaamheid*" as much as possible, that is not only offer shelter in physical meaning, but also:

- give opportunity for activities, experiences, communication
- be the seat of feelings, associations, recollections, meanings

8.3.2 The periphery of a building must, as street wall, be open (extrovert) and attractive. Something must be watched and experienced.

8.3.3 The periphery of a building must include facilities as many as possible that are *herbergzaam* and available for the passer-by.

In place of "*herbergzaamheid*", the GBP uses "a less difficult concept", "*aantrekkelijkheid* (attractiveness)".

8 *bereikbaarheid en toegankelijkheid*

9 In addition to these three plan maps, the SBP also includes a plan map about the protected urban perspectives, which the National Department for Conservation of Monuments proposed based on the Monument Act. The SBP regards this as a "temporary proposal", which will be worked out in the future.

10 *ruimtevormende wanden*

11 *pandbreedte*

12 *ruimtelijke differentiatie*

13 *ruimtelijke beslotenheid*

14 *verscheidenheid in verschijningsvorm*

15 *belangrijkste bewegingslijnen (routen)*

16 *hun bijzonder ruimtelijke accenten (plekken)*

17 *hoofdsysteem*

18 Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, May 22nd, 1976

19 *ibid*, May 26th, 1976. On the other hand, J. Kamminga (VVD) criticised that there remained no room for individual freedom and civil responsibility. The Gezinsbode dated May 24th, 1975, expressed anxiety that the strict restrictions could lead to the flight of big projects:

All these amount to the key question whether it is wise for a municipal executive to put an inner city in such a tight armour of urban design. (...) Isn't the armour of the city so tightly made that bigger projects can find no place any more and consequently drain away?

20 The Dutch word "*korrel*" means grain or texture.

21 The extremely diverted width is not calculated.

22 As civil servants, A. Bos, W.F.H.G. van Eyndhoven, H. Eijlsbroek, H. Kroon, H. Pol and R. Vos. As experts

outside the municipality, G.E. Engberts, H. Latta and H.S. Yap.

23 See TSUBOHARA, S. (2003)

24 *stadsvernieuwing*

25 *Nota "Stel Je Voor....."*

26 Interim Report Part

27 *Tussenbericht Deel*

28 *Tussenbericht Deel*

29 The project group continued the investigation during 1975, and published the result as *Tussenbericht Deel A* in April 1976.

30 *belevingswaarde*

31 *beeld van de binnenstad*

32 In response to the question about this by the Workgroup Inner City, the project group conceded, "the closure is difficult to measure." (Interim Report Part)

33 Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, March 11th, 1975

34 *ibid*, April 29th, 1975

35 *ibid*, March 11th, 1975

36 The Binnenstadswinkel was opened as a centre for public participation in February 1974.

37 11 discussion groups were at first organised, but "Group 7 did not function because of too little interest". (Interim Report Part)

38 *Tussenbericht Deel*

39 *wijkraad*

40 The club house, de Holm, in the Binnenstad-Zuid also submitted a written opinion.

41 Interim Report Part

42 Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, June 27th, 1975

43 The project group met the Chamber of Commerce and Groningen Entrepreneur Federation on March 20th and June 19th. It met the latter also on April 10th. According to the Nieuwsblad, Van den Berg explained the OS to business people on July 4th.

44 Urban Design Plan

45 According to the NW, more than 1,100 copies in total were bought by the end of March, 1976.

46 Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, December 11th, 1975

47 *ibid*, December 13th, 1975

48 Document of Modifications

49 That is the Chamber of Commerce, Groningen Entrepreneur Federation, AZ, RUG, and neighbourhood organisations in the Hortusbuurt, Binnenstad-Oost and Davidstraatbuurt.

50 Besides in the neighbourhood tour, only the neighbourhood council Oosterpoort met the work group also in January 22nd.

51 This neighbourhood tour was organised also in early 1974 in the planning process of the urban renewal.

52 According to the reports by Vos in the Nieuwsblad, the main topics were the construction of the Academie Minerva in the Binnenstad-Zuid, the integration and abolition of schools in the Schildersbuurt and the Improvement Plan (*Verbeterplan*) in the Oosterpoortbuurt.

53 Urban Design Plan

54 In advance of this meeting, the neighbourhood group published a special number of the neighbourhood newspaper, which explained the Urban Design Plan and urban renewal.

55 Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, February 27th, 1976

56 *ibid*, February 25th, 1976

57 There was a college on the western block.

58 Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, May 20th, 1976

59 *ibid*

60 *ibid*, May 21st, 1976

61 *ibid*, May 25th, 1976

62 *ibid*, May 26th, 1976

63 Concerning the SBP, there was another dispute, which was about rebuilding the accommodation for students, Mariapension. Students demanded building the housing for the single, and shop keepers insisted on constructing a parking garage. Although the SBP opted for the parking garage, the B&W excluded the related part from the proposal to the municipal council. Based on the decision by the council on February 7th, 1977, the Mariapension was finally rebuilt into a complex with housing and a parking garage.

64 *ibid*, May 14th, 1977

65 *ibid*, May 27th, 1977

66 *ibid*, June 22nd, 1977

67 *Plankaarten*

68 *Toelichting*

69 *Voorschriften en Regelen*

70 *vlekkenplan*

71 Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, June 23rd, 1977

72 *ibid*, August 22nd, 1977

73 *ibid*, August 19th, 1977

74 *ibid*, August 22nd, 1977

75 *ibid*, August 16th, 1977

76 *ibid*, January 18th, 1978

77 *ibid*, September 16th, 1977

78 at the council meeting on February 6th, 1978

79 minutes of the municipal council dated February 6th, 1978

80 One of them was from the PTT.

81 In the Binnenstad-Oost, the AZ gave up locating its facilities on the Nieuwe St. Jansstraat, and, in compensation, got the land at the corner between the Oostersingel and Oostersingeldwarsstraat for building a parking garage. In the Hortusbuurt, at least 12 houses will be built on the Grote Kruisstraat, and, instead, the RUG got the land on the northern side of the Grote Rozenstraat. In response to these agreements, the draft of the GBP was partly modified.

82 In order to accommodate the medical faculty of the RUG in the Bodenterrein, the building-to-land ratio and floor area ratio were loosened and the maximum 5% stipulation of housing was given up there.

83 minutes of the municipal council dated February 6th, 1978

84 Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, February 7th, 1978

85 Groninger Gezinsbode, January 30th, 1978

86 Van den Berg blamed the neighbourhood council, which resisted the destruction of houses, of "playing a political game"(Nieuwsblad, August 30th, 1974) and temporally denied its existence in November 1974.

87 In the neighbourhood, 6 residents on the Viaductstraat, whose houses were to be demolished for the Dutch Railway, lodged an objection opposing the demolition. This objection was judged "unfounded", and residents lodged their objection further with the *Gedeputeerde Staten*. After all, the municipality could not get an agreement from residents, and excluded the area from the draft, together with an area around the Stadsschouwbrug, where residents also lodged an objection with the *Gedeputeerde Staten*.

88 Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, February 8th, 1978

89 *ibid*

90 269. *Voorstel betreffende ontwerp-bestemmingsplan "Binnenstad Groningen 1976"*. Because the B&W accepted the demand by the PTT to loosen the building restriction on the western part of the area, it judged the objection "partly founded".

91 Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, January 24th, 1978

- 92 Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, February 8th, 1978. In total, 9 objections were lodged with the *Gedeputeerde Staten*.
- 93 *Samenwerkingsplanologie*
- 94 See 3 HAJEMA, L. (2001)

About the author

Education: Graduated from the Department of Urban Engineering, University of Tokyo in 1988.

Graduated from the Graduate School of Engineering, University of Tokyo in 1990.

Graduated from the Graduate School of Science and Technology, Kobe University in 1995, receiving a Doctor of Engineering.

Occupation: Joined Tsu City College as instructor in April 1996 and promoted to associate professor in April 1997.

Transferred to Prefectural University of Kumamoto as associate professor in April 1999, serving in that position up to this date.

Address: Department of Environmental and Symbiotic Sciences

Prefectural University of Kumamoto

1-100 Tsukide 3-chome

Kumamoto-shi, Kumamoto 862-8502

Japan

E-mail: tubohara@pu-kumamoto.ac.jp